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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE present issue contains an important study of the spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East, by Dr. Mingana, which will be of permanent value, and may be taken as the last word upon the subject, until such time as further documents and inscriptions are brought to light.

THE EARLY
CHURCH IN
CENTRAL
ASIA.

The area covered extends from the Central Persia of our day, to the extremity of the continent of Asia, and includes the North-Eastern and South-Eastern parts of Persia, Afghanistan, Russian and Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, China, and Manchuria.

The study is divided into three sections. The first section is devoted to the collection and translation of all the Syriac and Christian Arabic documents dealing with the subject. These have been supplemented by all the remaining traces and monuments found in European and Asiatic libraries and museums, which also have a bearing upon the subject.

The second section consists of a full description of a new Syriac document of great importance, apparently unique, found in a manuscript recently acquired by the library, which deals with the early introduction of Christianity into East and West Turkestan and North China.

The third section embodies the document itself, with copious explanatory notes, and a complete critical apparatus.

This document which is now edited and translated for the first time, supplies us with the names of four Christian Turkish Kings of both China and Turkestan, and gives an interesting account of the habits and customs of their subjects.

An interesting point, which Dr. Mingana makes clear, is that the word "Turk," by a curious irony of fate, has come to mean "Muslim,"

or "Mohammedan," in almost all the languages of Europe, whilst in reality many of the ancestors, not only of the Turks and Tartars, who in our days inhabit East and West Turkestan and North China, but actually of the Ottoman Turks of Constantinople and Anatolia, were Christians long before Muḥammad was born.

Indeed, there are many problems, falling within the purview of the study, upon which Dr. Mingana has been able to throw light in the course of his investigations. In this way he has found out that the famous Nestorian monument of Si-ngan-fu was erected in 779 and not in 781 as heretofore believed, and he has removed all difficulties arising from the date inscribed on the monument, and the year of the death of the Nestorian Patriarch Ḥnānīshō', under whose Patriarchate it was erected. Furthermore, the introduction of Christianity into Central Asia and the Far East is traced back two centuries earlier than the date to which scholars of the last generation had been able to ascribe it, by means of the documents at their disposal.

Dr. Rendel Harris continues his researches into Greek mythology with a study on the Wild Swans, whom Socrates had described as the "Birds of Apollo." He finds a parallel THE BIRDS OF APOLLO. between the migration of Apollo from the Hyperborean regions to Delos, and the annual migrations of the wild swans; and, by a study of the ornithological migrations, concludes that the original worship of Apollo was in an island in the Northern Seas, perhaps in Heligoland. In the same seas he locates the islands of which Homer speaks in the "Odyssey," and identifies Circe and Calypso as being two variants of the same folk-tale about the daughters of the Sun. He also suggests that the famous Ocean Stream which the ancients believed to surround the earth is a folk-memory of the Gulf-Stream. The article will attract the attention, and invite the criticism of classical scholars everywhere.

The present year marks an epoch in the history of the English Bible, for it is just four hundred years since William 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF TINDALE'S TESTAMENT, 1525. Tindale gave to his countrymen, in their own language, the first printed New Testament, which he himself had translated direct from the original Greek.

It was sometime in the latter half of the year 1525, probably in the month of July, that Tindale made his way from Hamburg to Cologne, a city famous for its printers, in order to make arrangements for the printing of the English translation

of the New Testament, upon which he had been engaged throughout the preceding twelve months. Unfortunately, his original plan was frustrated through the action of one of the bitterest enemies of the Reformation, in denouncing his project to the authorities, in consequence of which he was compelled to fly to Worms, a city in every way more suited to his purpose, since it was the headquarters of Lutheranism, whereas Cologne was devoted to the Roman faith. This interruption caused a delay of several months in the publication of the Testament, and it was not until the end of the year, probably towards the end of December, that copies were ready for circulation.

This New Testament was the beginning of the English Bible so familiar to us, which, in its form and substance, is the work of William Tindale, who, more than any other man, has left upon its pages the impress of his individuality and scholarship.

It is fitting, therefore, that we should commemorate this anniversary by devoting some of our space to a sketch of the life and work of our translator, and of the earlier events which lead up to that great undertaking.

The anniversary will be further commemorated, as we announced in our last issue, by the arrangement of an exhibition in the main library, designed to illustrate the history of the transmission of the Bible, from the earliest times to the present day, in which, of course, the work of William Tindale will be the centre of interest.

Mr. Robert Henry Grenville Tatton, of Wythenshawe, Northenden, in the County of Cheshire, has recently deposited in the library on loan for an indefinite period, for the use of students, his interesting collection of charters, deeds, and other manuscript matter relating to the Wythenshawe estates.

THE
TATTON
CHARTERS
AND MSS.

In 1371 the estate was acquired by Robert Tatton, of Kenworthy, through marriage with Alice, daughter and heiress of William de Massy, of Wythenshawe, and the family have been seated there ever since. The estate had been in the possession of the Massy or Mascie family since about 1277. But the Tattons held lands in Northenden long before this period, and a number of charters in the collection, dating back to the twelfth century, relate to those lands.

Another Robert Tatton, of Wythenshawe, who was High Sheriff of the County of Chester in 1645, was a staunch supporter of the

Royalist cause, and sustained a siege for upwards of a year at Wythenshawe Hall against the Parliamentary forces. The house was ultimately taken by the Parliament, but it was not finally reduced until two pieces of ordinance had been brought from Manchester. The mark of the times is still to be seen in the drawing-room, where a ball, perhaps a twelve-pounder, passed through and shattered the panelling on the other side.

The manuscripts will be arranged in such a way as to facilitate reference to them, and in due course a hand-list will be compiled and printed, similar to those already issued in connection with the Mainwaring and Jodrell collections of manuscripts, which have been deposited in the library under precisely similar arrangements.

We take this opportunity of renewing the offer, made in several issues of the "BULLETIN," to undertake the custody of any similar collections, or even smaller groups of documents, relating to the northern parts of England, with a view not only of providing for their careful preservation, but also of rendering them available for ready reference and study.

OFFER TO
ACCEPT
CUSTODY
OF LOCAL
MSS.

There are, we are convinced, in the hands of lords of manors, family solicitors, and others, quantities of court rolls, deeds, marriage settlements, indentures, and similar documents, now of little or no use for legal purposes, which are in danger of destruction or dispersal.

These documents form part of the essential material for the history of the country, and are invaluable to students of our local customs and institutions, as well as to the ever-increasing number of scholars engaged in this description of historical investigation.

In addition to these loan collections the library contains a considerable number of charters, deeds, and similar documents which have been acquired by the Governors from time to time, from a variety of sources. The collection includes a considerable number of the "Beaumont Charters," which were preserved for some time at Carlton Towers, York, the family seat of the Beaumonts. They formed part, at one time, of the collection of the Abbé de la Rue, a well-known Norman scholar. It also includes a section of the papers of the Nicholas Family, to which family belonged Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I. and Charles II. The papers relate to Sir Edward Nicholas and his two sons John and Edward. When the Medici

HAND-
LIST OF
CHARTERS
AND DEEDS
IN THE
J.R.L.

Records came into the market in 1919, the Governors were fortunately able to acquire an interesting group of documents, including some interesting papal bulls and briefs, relating, of course, to the Medici family. The most considerable part of the collection consists of charters and other records which at one time formed part of the celebrated Phillipps Collection, at Middlehill, and which have been acquired either directly at the Phillipps sales, or indirectly through booksellers.

Sectional hand-lists of this collection have appeared from time to time in the BULLETIN. These have been reprinted in a collected form, and an exhaustive index of upwards of 3000 names of persons and places referred to in the various documents, compiled by Dr. Fawtier, has been included and will greatly facilitate reference. The volume will be issued at the price of five shillings.

The additions to the shelves of the library during the first half of the present year, include a number of important works, no longer procurable in the ordinary channels of supply, in addition to the current literature, which readers may reasonably expect to find available.

RECENT
ACCESS-
SIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

The following is a selection of the most recent accessions, which will serve as an indication of the character of the works which are constantly being added to the various departments of literature.

ART AND BIBLIOGRAPHY : Coomaraswamy (A. L.), "Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," 8vo ; Jones (Ifano), "A history of printing and printers in Wales to 1900, and of successive and related printers to 1923 ; also a history of printing and printers in Monmouthshire to 1923," 8vo ; Delen (A. J. J.), "Histoire de la Gravure dans les anciens Pays Bas et dans les provinces Belges, des origines jusqu'à la fin du 18me siècle," Tome 1 (à, 1500), Fol. ; Haebler (Konrad), "Die deutschen Buchdrucker des 15 Jahrhunderts im Auslande," 4to ; Michel (A.) "Histoire de l'art . . . Tome 7 : L'art en Europe au 18me siècle," 8vo ; Funck (M.), "Le livre belge à gravures : guide de l'amateur des livres illustrés imprimés en Belgique avant le 18me siècle," 4to ; Olivier (E.), Hermal (G), et Roton (R. de), "Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises." Première serie, 8vo ; Norris (Herbert), "Costume and Fashion : the evolution of European dress through the earlier ages," 8vo ; Conway (Sir W. Martin), "Art

Treasures in Soviet Russia," 8vo : Laurin (C.) and others "Scandinavian Art" : illustrated, 8vo ; Lumsden (E. S.), "The Art of Etching," 8vo ; Eustratiades (Sophronios), "Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos," 8vo ; Schretlin (M. J.), "Dutch and Flemish Woodcuts of the 15th Century" : 200 illustrations, 4to ; Porter (A. K.), "Lombard Architecture," 1907, 4 vols., 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : Mullinger (J. Bass), "The Schools of Charles the Great and the Restoration of Education in the 9th century," 1877, 8vo ; Cohn (W.), "Das Zeitalter der Hohenstaufen in Sizilien," 8vo ; Jones (E. A.), "The Loyalists of Massachusetts, their memorials, petitions and claims," 4to ; Preisigke (F.), "Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyruskunden," Lief., 1-2 ; "Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum vel ad ordinem quoquo modo pertinentia . . ." An. 1-41 (1889-1922), Quaracchi, 1889-1922, 41 vols., 4to. ; "Analecta Montserratensia," vols. 1-5 (1917-22), Montserrat, 1918-22, 5 vols., Fol. ; Geyl (R.), "Williem IV. en England tot 1748," 8vo ; Dubreuil (L.), "François Rever, 1753-1828," 8vo ; "Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger à l'occasion du 80me anniversaire de sa naissance," 2 vols. 4to ; Walpole (Horace), "Reminiscences written in 1788. With notes and index by P. Toynbee," 8vo ; Lawlor (H. C.), "The Monastery of Saint Mochavi of Meldrum," 8vo ; Gribble (J. D. R.), "A History of the Deccan," vol. 2 : edited and finished by M. Pendlebury, 8vo ; Langlois (Lieut.-Col.), "La découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands vers l'an 1000 : deux sagas Islandais," 1924, 8vo ; Vaucher (P.), "Robert Walpole et la politique de Fleury (1731-1742)," 8vo ; Pereira (A.), "Chronica do condestabre de Portugal," 1911, 8vo ; Hurgonje (C. Snouck), "Verspreide Geschriften, Deel 4 : Geschriften betreffende den Islam in Nederlandsch-Indien," 1924, 8vo ; "Original letters . . . from Lord Charlemont, E. Burke, W. Pitt, etc., to . . . Henry Flood," 1820, 4to ; Schybergson (A. G.), "Politische Geschichte Finlands, 1809-1919," 8vo ; Sieglin (E. von), "Ausgrabungen in Alexandria : Band 2 : Terrakotten beabt. von J. Vogt," 2 vols., 4to ; Spink, (H. H.), "The Gunpowder Plot and Lord Mounteagle's Letter, being a proof . . . of the authorship of the document, etc.," 1902, 8vo ; Green (A. S.), "History of the Irish State to 1914," 8vo ; Mears (E. G.), "Modern

Turkey : a politico-economic interpretation, 1908-23, with selected chapters by representative authorities," 8vo ; Driault (E.), et L'Héretier (M.), " Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos jours," 3 vols., 8vo ; Ehrle (F.), " Scritti di storia e paleografia," 5 vols., 8vo ; Obermaier (F.), " Fossil man in Spain," 8vo ; Wulzinger (K.) und Watzinger (K.), " Damaskus die Islamische Stadt," 4to ; Wilson (Woodrow), " The public papers : vols. 1 and 2 : College and State, 1875-1913," 2 vols., 8vo ; Tolkowsky (S.), " The gateway of Palestine : a history of Jaffa," 8vo ; " Byzantion : revue internationale des études Byzantines," 1924 et seq. ; Fay (B.), " L'esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux Etats-Unis à la fin du 18^{me} siècle," 8vo ; Fay (B.), " Bibliographie critique des ouvrages français relatifs aux Etats-Unis, 1770-1800," 8vo ; Montet (P.), " Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire," 8vo ; Nash (Wm. Giles), " America, the true history of its discovery," 8vo ; Knowles (L. C. A.), " The economic developments of the British Oversea Empire, 1763-1914," 8vo ; Lee (Ida), " Early Explorers in Australia," 8vo ; Spengler (O.), " Der Untergang des Abenlandes," 1922-23, 2 vols., 8vo ; Wilkes (Carl), " Die zisterzienserabtei Himmerode im 12 und 13 Jahrhundert," 1924, 8vo ; Lanzoni (F.) " Le origine della diocesi antiche d'Italia : studio critico," 1923, 8vo ; Xenophon : " The historie of Xenophon containing the Ascent of Cyrus into the higher countries : Translated by John Bingham," 1623, Fol. ; " The House of Commons Journals, from the commencement in 1547 to 1852, with Indexes," 120 vols., Fol. ; Rees (T. Mardy), " A history of the Quakers in Wales and their emigration to North America," 8vo ; Darling (M. L.), " The Punjab peasant in prosperity and debt," 8vo ; " Charles II. : the plot in a dream or, the discoverer in Masquerade . . . by Philopatris," 1681, 8vo ; Adams (S. D.), " Great Britain and the American Civil War," 2 vols., 8vo ; Kingsford (E. L.), " Prejudice and promise in 15th century England," 8vo ; Cox (C. S.), " The threshold of the Pacific : an account of the social organisation, magic and religion of the people of San Cristoval, in the Solomon Islands," 8vo ; Dangeau (Marquis de) " Journal publié en entier pour la première fois . . . avec les additions du Duc de Saint Simon," 1854, 19 vols., 8vo.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE : Williams (R. A.) " The Finn

episode in *Beowulf*: an essay in interpretation," 8vo ; Bottomley (George), "Poems of thirty years," 8vo ; Piozzi (H. L.), "Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson during the last twenty years of his life," 8vo ; Burdett (O.), "The Beardsley period: an essay in perspective," 8vo ; Yolland (A. B.), "A dictionary of the Hungarian and English languages," Budapest, 1921-24, 3 vols., 8vo ; Baldensperger (F.), "Sensibilité musicale et romantisme," 8vo ; Mason (A. H.), "Walter Savage Landor, poète lyrique," 8vo ; Lowell (Amy), "John Keats: a biography," Illus., 2 vols., 8vo ; Firdausi : "The Shahnama: done into English by A. G. and E. Warner," 1905-25, 9 vols., 8vo ; Jensen (H.), "Geschichte der Schrift mit 303 Abbildungen" ; Thuasne (Louis), "Les privilèges des éditions originales de Molière," 8vo ; MacIntosh (W.), "Scott and Goethe: German influence on the writings of Sir Walter Scott," 8vo ; Kalff (G.), "Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde," 1916-22, 7 vols., 8vo ; Baldensperger (F.), "Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française 1789-1815," 8vo ; Clouard (H.), "La poésie française moderne: des romantiques à nos jours," 8vo ; Nanteuil (J.), "L'inquiétude religieuse et les poètes d'aujourd'hui," 8vo ; Atkinson (G.), "Les relations de voyages du 17^e siècle et l'évolution des idées," 8vo ; Menechini (A.), "Delle lodi della poesia d'Omero et di Virgilio Oratione," 1572, 4to ; Dolce (L.), "L'Achille et l'Enea," 1572, 4to ; Firenzuola (A.), "Prose," 1552, 8vo ; Heinsius (D.), "Poemata emendata nunc postrema et aucta," 1617, 8vo ; Home (John), "Dramatic Works," 1760, 8vo ; Renwick (W. L.), "Edmund Spenser: an essay in renaissance poetry," 8vo ; MacLennan (M.), "A pronouncing and etymological dictionary of the Gaelic language" (based upon MacAlpine) ; Champion (P.), "Ronsard et son temps," 8vo ; Lang (P.), "Buehne und Drama der Deutschen Schweiz," 8vo ; Langbaine (G.), "An account of the English dramatic poets," 1619, 8vo ; Martin (E. L.), "Les symétries du français littéraire," 8vo ; Trahard (P.), "Une revue oubliée: la Revue poétique du 19^e siècle (1835)," 8vo ; Haines (C. W.), "Shakespeare in France: criticisms, Voltaire to Victor Hugo," 8vo ; Langlade (J.), "La dernière manière de George Sand: essai sur le déclin du romantisme," 8vo ; Van der Ven (E.), "The character of King Arthur and English literature," 8vo ; Pons (E.), "Le thème et le sentiment de la nature

dans la poésie Anglo-Saxonne," 8vo ; Aynard (J.), "Les poètes Lyonnais précurseurs de la Pléiade," 8vo.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION : Winstedt (R. O.), "Shaman Saiva and Sufi : a study of the evolution of Malay magic," 8vo ; Leuba (J. H.), "The psychology of religious mysticism," 8vo ; MacCurdy (J. T.), "The psychology of emotion normal and morbid," 8vo ; Ladell (A. E.), "Richard Baxter : puritan and mystic," 8vo ; Knox (W. L.), "St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem," 8vo ; Goodspeed (E. J.), "The making of the English New Testament," 8vo ; Wood (C. T.), "The life, letters, and religion of St. Paul," 8vo ; Hodgson (L.), "The place of reason in Christian apologetics," 8vo ; Scott (W.), "Hermetica : the ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus ; edited with English translations and notes," vol. 1, 8vo ; Vaughan (C. E.), "Studies in the History of Political Philosophy, before and after Rousseau ; edited by A. G. Little," 2 vols., 8vo ; Lasserre (P.), "La jeunesse d'Ernest Renan : histoire de la crise religieuse au 19e siècle," 2 vols., 8vo ; Weber (W.), "Der Prophet und sein Gott : eine Studie zur Vierten Ekloge Vergils," 8vo ; "Zoroaster's Gathas : texts and studies by K. S. Guthrie," 8vo ; Delehay (H.), "Les saints stylites," 1923, 8vo ; Février (J. G.), "La date, la composition et les sources de la lettre d'Aristides à Philocrate," 8vo ; Goldsmith (E. E.), "Symbols as related to sex symbolism," Illus., 8vo ; Davenport (S. F.), "Immanence and Incarnation," 8vo ; Frazer (Sir J. G.), "The belief in Immortality : vol. 3 : The belief among the Micronesians," 8vo ; Underwood (A. C.), "Conversion : Christian and non-Christian : a comparative and psychological study," 8vo ; McIvor (J. G.), "The literary study of the prophets from Isaiah to Malachi," 8vo ; "Pistis Sophia, neu herausgegeben mit Einleitung nebst griechischen und koptischen Wort und Namen Register," 8vo ; Burt (E. A.), "The metaphysical foundations of modern science : a historical and critical study," 8vo ; Coale (Josiah), "The books and divers epistles of the faithful servant of the Lord," 1671, 4to ; Dewsbery (W.), "The faithful testimony of that ancient servant of the Lord in his books, epistles, and writings," 1689, 4to ; Foxe (George), "The great mystery of the great whore unfolded and Antichrist's Kingdom revealed unto destruction," 1659,

Fol. ; Ziegler (Leopold), "Gestaltwandel der Götter," 2 vols., 8vo ; Schuster (J.), "The Sacramentary : historical and liturgical notes on the Roman Missal, translated from the Italian," vol. 1, 8vo ; Pearson (A. F. S.), "Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism," 1535-1603," 8vo ; Glover (T. R.), "Paul of Tarsus," 8vo ; Hannah (J. C.), "Christian Monasticism : a great force in history," 8vo.

EDUCATION : Gamoran (E.), "Changing conceptions in Jewish Education," 8vo ; Mason (C. M.), "An essay towards a philosophy of education : a liberal education for all," 8vo.

The department of French History has been considerably strengthened, since the beginning of the year, through the acquisition of a collection, consisting of upwards of five thousand volumes, relating to the French Revolution, Napoleon and the First Empire, which includes an unusually full range of the journals, newspapers, and periodical publications of the period.

The foundations of the collection were laid by the 25th Earl of Crawford, but considerable additions were made by the 26th Earl, the father of the present Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who, from the date of his accession to the title, lost no opportunity of enriching it. At the sale of the library of Victorien Sardou, which took place in Paris in 1910, Lord Crawford's agent was instructed to buy everything bearing on the French Revolution which was not already to be found at Haigh Hall ; with the result that the collection became one of the most extensive ever formed by a private collector. It is peculiarly appropriate that the collection should find a home in the John Rylands Library, since it forms a valuable complement to the collection of 20,000 proclamations, a large proportion of which deals with the same period, which was presented to the library by the present Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, on the occasion of the celebration of our semi-jubilee, in October last.

THE EARLY SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE FAR EAST: A NEW DOCUMENT.

BY A. MINGANA, D.D.

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Foreword.

I.

BEFORE venturing into the subject of the evangelisation of the peoples of Mongolian race, it would be useful to examine the ethnological state of the powerful agglomeration of clans inhabiting the adjacent lands lying on the eastern and western banks of the river Oxus. There we meet with constant struggles for supremacy between two apparently different races, distinguished by the generic appellations of *Irān* and *Tūrān*. They were somewhat loosely separated by the historic river, the shallow waters of which in a summer month, or in a rainless season, proved always powerless to prevent the perpetual clash of arms between the warring tribes of the two rivals whose historic habitat lay on its eastern and western borders. In Arabic and modern Persian literature, the literature of those Persians who, after the Arab invasion, made of Arabic their literary vehicle, we are given to understand that this feud between two neighbouring peoples dates from pre-historic times. According to the Persian national epic, the *Shāhnāmāh* of Firdausi, this struggle for supremacy goes back to Feridūn, the Noah of the Iranian race, who distributed the earth to his three sons—Salm, Tūr, and Īraj,—corresponding roughly with Shem, Ham, and Japhet, of the Hebrew Bible. By a cowardly stratagem the first two named elder brothers made away with

Īraj, to whom the land of Irān was allotted by his father. Feridūn, seeing the lifeless body of Īraj, his youngest son, swears vengeance on his two other children.

During Sasanian and even Parthian times, the period which falls within the compass of our present study, we still find the bitter struggle going on between the two sworn rivals, with alternate defeats and victories. The unifying religious bond of Islam brought for a time to the two rivals that peace and concord which neither community of interests, nor exhausting wars, were able to accomplish. This was the state of affairs till the advent of the Turanian Seljuks, and the Tartar Mongols, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon their hereditary enemies, the Iranians, and put an end to the old feud. In the time immediately preceding and following the onrush of the peoples beyond the Oxus, a good section of the Iranians had enjoyed a somewhat precarious independence under the more or less important dynasties of the Tāhirids, Ghaznawids, Ṣaffārids, and Sāmānids.

The introduction of Christianity among the above peoples goes back to a very early period, and so far as the Persian section of them is concerned, to the post-Apostolic times. We are now in a position to speak of the subject in a much more confident way than our predecessors did even twenty-five years ago, thanks to new and important publications which were unknown to them. We will here refer only to two works of outstanding importance—the *Synodicon Orientale*, and the History of Mshiḥa-Zkha, edited and translated, the first by J. B. Chabot,¹ and the second by the present writer.² The first work gives us as signatories of an Eastern Council held in A.D. 424, the names of the Bishops of four large towns in the immediate proximity of the Oxus,—Ray, Naishābur, Herat, and Merw ;—and the second reveals to us the fact that in A.D. 225 there were more than twenty Bishoprics in North Mesopotamia and in Persia, one of which among the Dailams near the Caspian Sea. The date 225 is referred to in connection with the epoch making year in which the first Sasanian

¹ *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, 1902.

² *Sources Syriques*, 1908, i. 1-168. Sachau gave, in 1915, a German translation of it in *Abhandlungen d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* where he rechristened the work under the name of *Chronik von Arbela*. This Chronicle and the Synodicon are the main sources of his other study entitled "Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien, 1919, in No. 1 of the same *Abhandlungen*."

king gained a decisive victory over Artaban, the last monarch of the Parthian dynasty.¹ From the third century down to the time of Chingis Khan, the activity of the East-Syrian and Persian converts to Christianity slowly but surely worked to diminish the immense influence of the priests of the hundred and one primitive cults of Central Asia, the most important of whom were the mobeds of Zoroastrianism and the wizards of Shamanism.

That the men interested in the missionary work which brought Western civilisation and beliefs to the farthest end of the Far East were mainly animated by religious enthusiasm we have no reason to doubt, and St. Jerome sums up the feelings of the early Christian missionaries of those regions by saying of their converts "*Hunni discount Psalterium, Scythiae frigora fervent calore fidei.*"² Similar would be the religious devotion of those Christian communities about which Bardaisan³ and Eusebius of Cæsarea⁴ wrote as existing in Bactria, Parthia, and Gilān, on the Caspian Sea. But alongside of these warm followers of Jesus of Nazareth, there might have been also Christian men who travelled from Mesopotamia and Persia, in pursuit of commercial undertakings and earthly gain. It seems, however, that there were hardly among them any of those Phœnician Syrians, of whom St. Jerome wrote, "*Negotiatoribus et avidissimis mortalium Syris,*"⁵ or "*Usque hodie autem permanet in Syris ingenitus negotiationis ardor, qui per totum mundum lucri cupiditate discurrunt.*"⁶ Whatever means were employed by those early pioneers of Christianity, there is no reason for denying the important fact that in an amazingly short space of time, they introduced their religious convictions literally into the remotest confines of ancient Asia.

The nerve-centre of this movement towards Christian beliefs in Central Asia and even in India was undoubtedly the province of Adiabene situated East of the Tigris, between two of its historic tributaries: the Greater and the Lesser Zabs. The Capital of this province was Arbēl the numerous Jewish population of which was so

¹ *Sources Syriacques*, pp. 106-107 of my edition.

² *Epist. cvii. Patr. Lat. xxii.* 870.

³ *Book of the Laws (in Pat. Syr.)*, ii. 606-609.

⁴ *Prepar. Evang.*, vi. 10, 46.

⁵ *Ep. cxxx. 7, Patr. Lat. xxii.* 1112.

⁶ *In Ezech. viii. xxviii. 16, Patr. Lat. xxv.* 255.

much in the ascendant at the beginning of the Christian era that for some time it forced on this part of the old Assyrian Empire a reigning dynasty of Jewish blood.¹ Even as far West as the right banks of the Tigris, near the more modern town of Mosul, the Jews had erected a fortress called *ḥisna* 'ebrāya "The Hebrew Fort,"² which existed down to the Arab invasion.

Christianity had penetrated into Arbel immediately after the Apostolic age, because the ordination of its first Bishop, Pkīdha, goes back to the end of the first century.³ The city played for the countries extending East, North, and South of the Tigris a role no less important (if somewhat less known) than that played by Edessa in the trans-Euphratic provinces of the Roman and Persian Empires in particular, and in Syria and Palestine in general. Sozomen⁴ asserts that the majority of the inhabitants of Adiabene were Christians: *Haec Persidis regio est, maxima ex parte (ὡς ἐπίπταν) a Christianis habitata.*

It is not sufficiently realised by modern scholars that the immense majority of the members of the Nestorian Church living east of the Tigris were of Persian, and not Semitic or Aramean birth and extraction. Many were born of Christian parents who originally belonged to the Zoroastrian faith, and many others were only themselves converts from Zoroastrianism. Some of these converts retained their Iranian names, but some others changed them on the day of their baptism into Christian appellations formed by means of one or two compounds underlying elements of Christian beliefs. The Middle Persian or Pahlawi was in constant use among Persian Christian Doctors. In 420 Ma'na, a student of the School of Edessa, translated Syriac works into Pahlawi.⁵ About 470 another Ma'na of the same school wrote in Pahlawi religious discourses, canticles, and hymns, to be sung and recited in Churches.⁶ Even the ecclesiastical Canons of the Nestorian Church were sometimes written in Persian and translated

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* l. xx., c. iv.

² Mshīha-Zkha, *ibid.* i. p. 87 of my edition; *Narsai Homiliae*, vol. ii., pp. 408-410 of my edition; *Chron. Minora* in *C.S.C.O.* p. 24; and *Book of Chastity*, 32, 13 (edit. Chabot).

³ Mshīha-Zkha, *ibid.* p. 77.

⁴ *Ecl. Hist.* in *Pat. Graec.*, lxxvii., 965.

⁵ *Chronique de Seert* in *Pat. Orient.* v. 328-329.

⁶ *Ibid.* vii. 117.

into Syriac by some later author ; so the Canons of Simon, Metropolitan of Riwardashir, who died about 670, were originally composed by him in Pahlawi, and were afterwards translated into Syriac by a monk from Beith ẖatrāye.¹

In the following pages we propose to lay before our readers a comprehensive list of all the Syriac and Christian Arabic passages that we have been able to collect on the subject of the evangelisation of the Turks, and other peoples of Turanian stock. It is hoped that they will serve as a kind of introduction to the present document, which deals with the same theme. By a curious irony of fate the word "Turk" has come to be synonymous with "Muslim" in almost all the Dictionaries of modern European languages. In reality many forefathers even of the Ottoman Turks of Constantinople and Anatolia were zealous Christians before Muḥammad was born. The documents of the Christian literature with which we will exclusively deal we divide into three distinct parts : (1) Historians ; (2) Synods and Bishopricks ; (3) Surviving traces and Monuments.

1. HISTORIANS.

(a)

The oldest document in Syriac literature relating to Christianity in Central Asia is the memorable sentence of Bardaiṣān uttered not much later than A.D. 196 concerning the Christians of Gilan, South-West of the Caspian Sea, and those of Bactria, the ancient name of the country between the range of Hindu Kush and the Oxus :

"Nor do our (Christian) sisters among the Gilanians and Bactrians have any intercourse with strangers."²

This proves decisively that towards the end of the second century the Edessene Bardaiṣān was aware of the existence of Christians in Bactria. The word translated by Bactrians is in Syriac *Kaishānāye*, or the Kushans about whom Drouin writes :³ "Les Kouchans ou Yue-tchi arrivèrent en Sogdiane, puis conquièrent la Bactriane vers 129 de notre ère. Ils pénétrèrent dans l'Inde sous le nom de Kouchans

¹ Sachau's *Syr. Rechtsbücher*, iii. 1914, p. 209.

² *Book of the Laws* (in *Pat. Syr.*), ii. 607.

³ *Mémoire sur les Huns Ephtalites* in *Museum*, 1895 (quoted on p. 589).

qui est celui d'une de leurs principales tribus (Kao-tchang ou Kouei-tchang). Ils furent subjugués au cinquième siècle par les Huns Ephtalites ou Huns Blancs." Parker¹ also makes mention of the Yueh-Chi, whose headquarters he places in Afghanistan, to the East of the Arsacids. The country of the Kushans, *Baith Kaishān*, is also mentioned in the Gnostic "Hymn of the Soul," found in the *Acts of Thomas*,² and written most probably in about A.D. 180-196.

For further details concerning the migrations and the conquests of the Yueh-Chi, see E. J. Rapson in *Cambridge History of India*, 1922, i. 563-592, especially p. 565 and p. 583. The two above scholars have been quoted because their works are omitted (apparently by oversight) in the otherwise excellent "Bibliography" of the *Cambridge History*, pp. 686-687.

We must also allude under this section to the explicit statement of the Syriac work entitled *Doctrine of the Apostles* edited from a fifth-sixth century MS. of the British Museum by many scholars, notably in 1864 by W. Cureton. The work itself cannot be much later than A.D. 250. On pp. 34-35 of the text it is asserted that the country of the Gilanians and that of Gog and Magog first received ecclesiastical ordination from the missionary called Aggai, a disciple of Addai, towards the beginning of the second century, say about A.D. 120-140. The readers of this study will be made aware of the fact that in Syriac literature the words Gog and Magog refer to the Turks and Tartars. We will not discuss here the question whether Aggai evangelised or not the countries of Central Asia, but we do maintain that the author of the *Doctrine*, whoever he was, knew about 250, as Bardaišān knew about 196, of the existence of Christians among the Gilanians on the Caspian Sea, and among the peoples of Turkic stock on the Oxus. See also Barhebraeus (*Chron. Eccl.*) ii. 15.

(b)

In about A.D. 498 the Sasanian king Kāwad took twice refuge with the Hephtalite Huns and Turks, where he found Christians who helped him to reconquer his throne :—

"And Kūbād escaped and went to the country of the Turks on account of the close friendship that he had contracted with the king

¹ *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, pp. 34-36.

² *Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, iii. p. 111.

of the Turks when he had repaired to him in his father's lifetime. He asked the Turkish king for help, and the latter despatched an army with him to his country, and he dethroned Zamasp after a reign of two years. He killed some Magians, and incarcerated many others. He was benevolent towards the Christians, because a company of them rendered service to him on his way to the king of the Turks."¹

This laconic historical information of a Nestorian writer is supplemented by a contemporary of Kawad, a well-informed Jacobite author who was writing in A.D. 555.² His text, which informs us that the Turks had learned the art of writing in their own language as early as about 550, is important and begins thus :—

“The Huns³ more than twenty years ago learned the art of writing in their own language. I shall record the occasion of this event, which has been inspired by God, as I heard it from reliable people : John of Resh'aina, who was in the monastery of Ishākonai, near Amed, and Thomas the tanner, who forcibly joined in the flight of Kawad from Persia into the country of the Huns, a little more than fifty years ago. They remained there more than thirty years, and married and had children there. They returned in our time, and in a vivid speech they narrated what follows.” The document which is too long to translate in full proceeds to narrate that an angel appeared to the Bishop of Arran,⁴ called Karaduṣaṭ, and ordered him to repair to the numerous Byzantine captives among the Turks, and to the Turks themselves, in order to baptise them, ordain priests for them, and administer to them the Holy Eucharist. Four other priests accompanied them as missionaries, and the daily food of all seven consisted of seven loaves of bread and a jar of water. It was they who taught the Turks the art of writing in the Turkish language, and evangelised and baptised a considerable number of them. They lived with them seven years. In that time Probus, the messenger of the Roman Emperor Justinian, was sent on a special mission to the

¹ *Chronique de Seert*, in *Patr. Orient.*, vii. 128; cf. Tabari, *Annales*, 1, 2, 887. Kawad's flight to the Turks is told at some length by Joshua the Stylite (about 507) in his *Syriac Chronicle*, pp. 18-19 of the text (edit. Wright).

² In *C.S.C.O.*, 3rd series, vol. vi. pp. 215-218.

³ Old Syriac name of the Western Turks.

⁴ About this Nestorian Bishopric see below.

country of the Turks, and seeing everything with his own eyes, he was astonished at what God had accomplished through his servants. On his way back he sent to them from the nearest town of the Empire thirty mules laden with flour, wine, oil, linen, and all the requisites of a Church vestry.

Their missionary labours were soon after shared by a practical Armenian Bishop who taught those Christian Turks how to plant vegetables and sow corn, and in the time of the writer he was still living among them. The grace of God touched also Kawad himself, the king of the Persians, who gave up eating unclean meat, and greatly honoured Joseph, who was a physician by profession, before becoming Patriarch of the Nestorians in 552.

On the two thousand Christian virgins selected for the Turks by the Sasanian king Chosrau I. see John of Ephesus's *Ecclesiastical History* (Payne-Smith, p. 387 *sq.*), and on the trouble the Turks often engendered between Romans and Persians, see *ibid.* p. 424 *sq.* Cf. also *Chronicon Anonymum* (in *C.S.C.O.*), i. 206.

About some aspects of the Hephthalite Huns and their wars with the Sasanians, see Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, pp. 211-214, where, however, no reference is made to the contemporary and important Syriac sources; and Nöldeke's well-known *Geschichte der Perser* (1879), pp. 53, 99, 158, 167, 250 *sqq.* and 269; cf. also Zacharias Rhetor in *C.S.C.O.*, i. 21 *sq.* and 98.

(c)

In A.D. 549, at the request of the Hephthalite or White Huns inhabiting the regions of Bactria, and those of both banks of the Oxus, the Nestorian Patriarch Aba I. sent a Bishop for all the Christians of his dominions:—

“After a short time Haphtar¹ Khudai sent a priest as a messenger to the King of Kings (Chosrau Anushirwān), and the Hapthraïye,² who were Christians, wrote also a letter to the holy Patriarch (Aba I.) requesting him to ordain as Bishop to all the kingdom of the Hapthraïye the priest who was sent from their country. When the priest saw the King of Kings, and the latter learned the nature of the mission on which he was sent, he was astonished to hear it, and

¹ The Syriac name for *Hephthalites*.

amazed at the power of Jesus, and at the fact that even the Christian Haphtrāye counted the Patriarch as their head and administrator. He therefore ordered him to go and adorn the Church as was customary on such occasions, and to ordain Bishop the man whom Haphtar Khudai had sent to him. On the following day the Church was adorned, and the Haphtrian priest was ordained Bishop for the Haphtrians, and joy increased with the people of the Lord.”¹

The extent to which Christianity had penetrated among these Turks may be gauged from the fact that in A.D. 581 those among them who were taken prisoners by the Byzantine Greeks had crosses on their forehead.² The crosses were pricked in black dots, and the Turks said that many years before, when a pestilence was ravaging the country, Christians had suggested to them to do this, and by it the pestilence had been averted. The use of the cross by the Nestorian Turks as a talisman is attested by Marco Polo (i. 343, edit. Yule-Cordier) and Friar William (Rockhill, *ibid.* pp. 104, 191, 193). See also in this connection the Syrian historians John of Ephesus (3rd part, book vi. ch. xxii.) and Michael the Syrian (ii. 314, and especially iii. 151, edit. Chabot).

(d)

In about A.D. 644 history makes mention of the conversion of large communities of Turks, thanks to the efforts and the zeal of Elijah, Metropolitan of Merw :—

“And Elijah, Metropolitan of Merw, converted a large number of Turks. . . . About this Elijah, Metropolitan of Merw, it is related that when travelling in the countries situated beyond the border line (of the river Oxus) he was met by a king who was going to fight another king. Elijah endeavoured with a long speech to dissuade him from the fight, but the king said to him, ‘If thou showest to me a sign similar to those shown by the priests of my gods, I shall believe in thy God.’ And the king ordered the priests of the demons who were accompanying him, and they invoked the demons whom they

¹ *Histoire de Mar Aba.* (edit. Bedjan), pp. 266-269.

² Theophylactus Simocatta’s “History of the Emperor Maurice,” quoted by Rockhill (*in op. infrà laud.*), p. 142, and in *Cathay*, 1915, i. 115 (edit. Yule-Cordier). The intercourse between Byzantine Emperors and Turkish Khāns is well illustrated by Menander Protector in *Cathay* (*ibid.* i. 205 sq.).

were worshipping, and immediately the sky was covered with clouds, and a hurricane of wind, thunder, and lightning followed. Elijah was then moved by divine power, and he made the sign of the heavenly cross, and rebuked the unreal thing that the rebellious demons had set up, and it forthwith disappeared completely. When the king saw what Saint Elijah did, he fell down and worshipped him, and he was converted with all his army. The saint took them to a stream, baptised all of them, ordained for them priests and deacons, and returned to his country.”¹

(e)

In about A.D. 781 Timothy, the Nestorian Patriarch, wrote in his letter to the Maronites, that another king of the Turks had become Christian with all his people :—

“The king of the Turks, with nearly all (the inhabitants of) his country, has left his ancient idolatry, and has become Christian, and he has requested us in his letters to create a Metropolitan for his country ; and this we have done.”² Further, in one of his letters to Rabban Sergius, the same Timothy says that he has ordained a Bishop for the Turks, and that he was going to ordain one for Tibet :—

“In these days the Holy Spirit has anointed a Metropolitan for the Turks, and we are preparing to consecrate another one for the Tibetans.”³

Finally, in another letter to Sergius, the illustrious Patriarch clearly states that in his time “many monks crossed the sea and went to the Indians and the Chinese with only a rod and a scrip,”⁴ and apprises his correspondent of the death of the Metropolitan of China.⁵

(f)

Thomas of Marga writes that the same indefatigable Patriarch chose more than four score of monks, some of whom he ordained

¹ *Chronica Minora*, in *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.*, pp. 34-35 of the text which was written about A.D. 680.

² The letter is not yet published. I read it in a MS. Cf. J. Labourt's *De Timotheo I Nestorianorum Patriarcha*, p. 43.

³ *Oriens Christianus*, i. 308.

⁴ *Timothei Epistolæ*, i. p. 107 of the text (in *C.S.C.O.*).

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 109.

Bishops, and sent them to convert the heathens of the Far East ; and narrates the exploits of Shubḥa-lishō', Metropolitan of the Dailamites of the South-Eastern parts of the Caspian Sea :—

“(These Bishops) were ordained by the holy Catholicos Timothy the Patriarch to the countries of the savage peoples, who were devoid of every understanding and civilisation. No missionaries and sowers of truth had till then gone to their regions, and the teaching of the Gospel of our Saviour had not yet been preached to them ; but why should I say the teaching of the Christ, our Lord, while they had not even received, like the Jews and the rest of the Gentiles (i.e. Muslims), the knowledge of God, Creator and Administrator of the worlds, but were worshipping trees, graven wood, beasts, fish, reptiles, birds and such-like, along with the worship of fire and stars. These were the Bishops who preached the teaching of Christ in those countries of the Dailamites and Gilānians, and the rest of the savage peoples beyond them, and planted in them the light of the truth of the Gospel of our Lord. . . . They evangelised them and they baptised them, worked miracles and showed prodigies, and the news of their exploits reached the farthest points of the East. You may learn all these clearly from the letter which some merchants and secretaries of the kings, who had penetrated as far as there for the sake of commerce and of affairs of State, wrote to (the Patriarch) Mar Timothy.”¹

In another place the same historian relates how Bishop Shubḥa-lishō' was ordained by Timothy, and describes his fitness for the task set to him, which was that of evangelising the primitive peoples inhabiting the countries lying beyond Central Asia, and says that he was versed not only in Syriac, but also in Arabic and Persian. He dilates on the great number of miracles which God performed through him, and continues :—

“He taught and baptised many towns and numerous villages, and brought them to the teaching of the divine life. He built churches, and set up in them priests and deacons, and singled out some brethren who were missionaries with him to teach them psalms and canticles of the Spirit. And he himself went deep inland to the farthest end of the East, in the work of the great evangelisation that he was doing among pagans, Marcionites, Manichæans, and other kinds of beliefs

¹ Thomas of Marga, *Liber Superiorum*, pp. 261-262 (edit. Bedjan).

and abominations, and he sowed the sublime light of the teaching of the Gospel, the source of life and peace.”¹

The enthusiasm of the historian is explained by the fact that he was contemporary with the events he was narrating. Further references to the same evangelisation may be seen in his book on pp. 275-281. He ends his account as follows: “The bread of those countries was made of rice, because the blessed cereals wheat and barley are not found there, but only rice and other kinds of similar grains. We learned this from the mouth of Mar Yahb Alāha, of good memory. The two old men Hnānishō’ and Elishā’ used to tell me that (the Saint) related that when he started to come back, and reached the holy Habbiba, Metropolitan of the city of Ray, he ate wheat bread, and because of that he fell gravely ill, owing to the fact that he was used in those countries to eat bread of rice only.”

On page 245 the same historian mentions among the Bishops ordained in his Monastery of Beith ‘Ābé, Elijah, Bishop of Mūkān, and David, Metropolitan of China. Thomas, who was writing about 840, adds immediately after the mention of the name of the above Metropolitan, that the information concerning him is drawn from the letters of the Patriarch Timothy, who died in 823.

(g)

Māri informs us that Timothy converted the Kāghān (king) of the Turks, and other kings, and that he was in correspondence with them:—

“And Timothy converted to the (Christian) faith the Khākān of the Turks and other kings, from whom he received letters, and he instructed many in Christian doctrine.”²

(h)

In about A.D. 1009, ‘Abdishō’, Metropolitan of Merw, wrote to the Nestorian Patriarch, John, informing him that about two hundred thousand Turks and Mongols had embraced Christianity, and asked him concerning the kind of food they were to eat in Lent, as no food suitable for that Fast was to be found in their country:—

“In that time ‘Abdishō’, Metropolitan of Merw, one of the towns

¹ Thomas of Marga, *Liber Superiorum*, pp. 269-271.

² *Book of the Tower*, p. 73 (text), and 64 of the transl. (edit. Gismondi).

of Khurāsān, wrote and informed the Catholicos that while the king of a people called Keraites, Eastern Turks inhabiting the region of the North-East,¹ was hunting in one of the high mountains of his country, he was overcome by a violent snow-storm, and wandered hopelessly out of the way. When he lost all hope of salvation, a saint appeared to him in vision and said to him, 'If you believe in Christ, I will lead you to the right direction, and you will not die here.' When he promised him that he would become a lamb in the Christian sheepfold, he directed him and led him to salvation; and when he reached his tents in safety, he summoned the Christian merchants who were there, and discussed with them the question of faith, and they answered him that this could not be accomplished except through baptism. He took a Gospel from them, and lo he is worshipping it every day; and now he has summoned me to repair to him, or to send him a priest to baptise him. He also made enquiries from me concerning fasting, and said to me, 'Apart from meat and milk, we have no other food; how could we then fast'; he also told me that the number of those who were converted with him reached two hundred thousand. The Catholicos wrote then to the Metropolitan, and told him to send two persons, a priest and a deacon, with all the requisites of an altar, to go and baptise all those who were converted, and to teach them Christian habits. As to the Fast of Lent, they should abstain in it from meat, but they should be given permission to drink milk, if, as they say, Lent food is not found in their country."²

Barhebraeus makes also mention of this conversion in his general history under A.H. 398 as follows:—

"In this very year a nation from the nations of the Turks inhabiting the interior of the country towards the East, called Kerit, believed in Christ, and were instructed in the faith and baptised through a miracle that happened to their king."³

We must here state that the legend of "Prester John," which was so widely diffused in Europe in the Middle Ages, is closely connected with the above Keraites, because "John" was given as their king. As it has been often explained "John" in Syriac

¹ The habitat of these Karaites was near the river Orkhon and lake Baikal. See below.

² Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, iii. pp. 279-280 (edit. Lamy).

³ *Chron. Syr.*, p. 204 (edit. Bedjan), cf. Assemani, *B.O.*, iv. 486.

"Yohannan" may be a falsification of "Ung-Khan," name of one of the Kerait rulers, and Barhebraeus¹ clearly identifies the mythical "John" with the historical "Ung." His proper name was called Tuli by the Chinese, and Toghrul by the Persian historians, but the Kin Sovereign of Northern China had conferred on him the title of Wang (= King) from which the slightly corrupted cognomen of *Ung*.²

The Keraites lived on the Orkhon and the Tula, S.E. of lake Baikal.³

(2)

Māri relates the same event, and gives additional details as follows :—

"A letter came (to the Patriarch) from 'Abdishō', the Metropolitan of Merw, to the effect that an Archdeacon had become Muslim, and had turned his Church into a mosque; but after some days canker invaded his limbs and he died, and the Church reverted to its former owners. The letter contained also the following fact :—

A king from the Turkish kings became Christian with two hundred thousand souls. The cause of this was that he lost his way when he went hunting, and while he was bewildered not knowing what to do, he saw the figure of a man who promised salvation to him. He asked him about his name, and he told him that it was Mar Sergius. He intimated to him to become Christian, and said to him, 'close your eyes,' and he closed them. When he opened them, he found himself in his camp. He was amazed at this, and he made inquiries concerning Christian religion, prayer, and book of canon-laws. He was taught the Lord's Prayer, *Lākhū Māra*,⁴ and *Kaddīsha Alāha*.⁴ The Bishop told also (the Patriarch) that he had written to him on the subject of his going to him, and that he was informed that his people were accustomed to eat only meat and milk. The king had set up a pavilion to take the place of an altar, in which was a cross and a Gospel, and named it after Mar Sergius, and he tethered a mare there, and he takes her milk and lays it on the Gospel and the

¹ *Chron. Syr.* p. 409 (edit. Bedjan).

² Yule-Cordier, in *Marco Polo* (*op. infrā. cit.*), i. 237.

³ Rockhill, in *Journey of Rubruck* (*op. infrā. cit.*), p. 111.

⁴ Prayers of the Nestorian Church. See *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, i., ii., iii. pp. 4 and 9 (edit. Bedjan).

cross, and recites over it the prayers which he has learned, and makes the sign of the Cross over it, and he and his people after him take a draught from it. The Metropolitan inquired from (the Patriarch) what was to be done with them as they had no wheat, and the latter answered him to endeavour to find them wheat and wine for Easter ; as to abstinence, they should abstain at Lent from meat, and be satisfied with milk. If their habit was to take sour milk, they should take sweet milk as a change to their habit.”¹

This is evidently an allusion to the well-known sour milk of the Turks and Tartars. See about it Yule, in *Marco Polo*, i. 249, and Rockhill, in *William of Rubruck*, pp. 66-67 and the authorities quoted by them.

(j)

In their letters to the Patriarchs, the Nestorian Metropolitans of Central Asia do not write only on religious affairs, but a few of them describe also political events of first importance. Barhebraeus in his general history under A.H. 438 registers the following event :—

“In this year the Nestorian Metropolitan of Samarqand sent a letter to the Catholicos, which was read also at the Court of the Caliph (in which it was written) that people resembling locusts by their numbers, had made a breach in the wall which separated Tibet from Khotan and which, according to old traditions, was fortified by Alexander the Great. They passed through it, and reached as far as Kashgar. There were seven kings, and with each one of them there were seven hundred thousand mounted troops. The name of their great king was Nāṣarat, which means “Governing by the command of God.” They were half black like Indians ; they did not wash their faces, neither did they comb their hair, but they fulled it like a felt rug and it served them as a shield. They ate sparingly of simple food, and were merciful and just, and their horses were carnivores.”²

The extent to which Christianity had penetrated among those Mongols who in the Lower Middle Ages swept over Western Asia and Eastern Europe with such a lightning rapidity, is well illustrated by Barhebraeus, a contemporary, and often also an eye-witness of

¹ *Book of the Tower*, in the Life of John V., p. 100 of Gismondi's translation, cf. Assemani, *B.O.* iv. 484.

² Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, pp. 228-229 (edit. Bedjan), cf. Assemani, *B.O.*, iv. 487.

many incidents which he reports in his *Chron. Syr.* so often quoted in the previous pages. We will only refer here to the following incidents :—

About the Mongolian Emperor Guyūk, made famous in Europe by Friar John of Pian de Carpine, who in 1246 brought to him a letter from the Pope, Barhebraeus writes : “ And Guyūk was a true Christian, and in his days the prestige of the numerous Christians of his dominions was very high.¹ His camp was full of Bishops, priests and monks ” (p. 481, edit. Bedjan).—“ And from the wives of Tūli Khan, their father, Dōḳūz Khātūn, the ‘believing and the true Christian queen was given for marriage to Hūlāku, according to the habit of the Mongols. She enhanced the prestige of Christians in all the earth ” (p. 491).—When Baghdad was taken by the Mongols, the Christians were spared death and torture (p. 505) because of “ the magnanimity, the wisdom, and the marvellously high character of Hūlāku,”² whose figure has been blackened almost beyond recognition by some modern writers : “ And in the year 1576 (A.D. 1265), at the beginning of Lent, Hūlāku, the King of Kings, left this world. There was no one who could be compared to him in wisdom, magnanimity, and marvellously high character. And in the summer days Dōḳūz Khātūn³ also, the believing queen, died. The Christians of all the world greatly mourned the death of these two great luminaries and protagonists of Christian religion ” (p. 521).—Another Christian queen who preceded the above Dōḳūz Khātūn, and who was “ a true believer like Helen,” and “ wisest of all,” is Sarḳūti Bagi,⁴ the wife of Tūli Khan, the son of Chingis Khan, and his successor to the throne of the Mongolian Empire. She was the niece of the Kerait

¹ Cf. Juwaini's *Jahān Gushā* (in Gibb Mem.), ii. 247-248, and see Rashid's *Jāmi' at Tawārīkh* (*ibid.*) p. 273, where the Christian convictions of his successor Mangu Khan are clearly set forth in the following words, “ a follower and a defender of the Religion of Jesus.” The Christianity of Guyūk Khan himself is also attested by Rashid, *ibid.* p. 249.

² Hūlāku judged by our ethical standards was doubtless cruel ; but our standards are not those of the Mongols, nor even those of the early Empires of Asia and Europe, including those founded or directed by men whom we call prophets. The testimony of a contemporary of Barhebraeus's standing cannot be entirely disregarded.

³ About Dōḳūz Khātūn, see Blochet in *Jāmi' at Tawārīkh* (Gibb Mem.), p. 200.

⁴ See Rashid's *Jāmi' at Tawārīkh* (*ibid.*), pp. 89 and 222, etc.

king Ung Khan, of the Prester John fame, and the mother of the following Princes and Emperors: Munga Khan, Kublai Khan, Hūlaku Khan, and Arig Bōga (pp. 465 and 488).

Page 481: the Christian Kaddak is the Grand Vizier of the Emperor Guyuk.¹—P. 528: a monk becomes a Muslim, and on this occasion a great uproar arises between Christians and Muslims, and the Christians are helped by the Mongol governor of North Mesopotamia who was a Christian.—P. 529: the Christian Mongols help the Christian community of Arbel against the Muslims on the occasion of a procession with crosses and banners on Palm Sunday.—P. 535: the envoy of Kublai Khan is a Turkish Uighurian nobleman, who was a Christian.—P. 539: the queen Kutai Khātūn in order to put an end to a terribly cold weather, commands the Christians of Marāgha to resort to the ceremony of the blessing of the water, with spears ending in crosses.—Pp. 543 and 554: the Christians are given the Governorship of North Mesopotamia.—P. 547: the Emperor Abāka goes to Church on Easter Day.—P. 569: all clerks in Government Offices are to be either from the Christian or from the Jewish communities, and not from the Muslims.—P. 578: the Īl-Khān Arghūn sends the Rabban Šauma embassy spoken of below to seek an alliance with the Pope and the Christian kings of the West, in order to crush Islam.—P. 593: the Emperor Baidu, before becoming a Muslim, takes Christian sanctuaries and bells in his camp for the celebration of the Mass, and hangs a cross on his neck.

(k)

We come now to that most interesting book, "The History of Mar Yahb-Alāha" (*Deus dedit = Deo-datus*), which is of paramount importance for the history of Christianity in China, Turkestan, and Mongolia, in the thirteenth Christian century. It was published in Leipzig by Bedjan in 1888, and re-edited by him in 1895. The history is based on the following facts:—

A Christian, Šauma by name, was born in Peking in the first half of the thirteenth century, and on his attaining the age of manhood, he became a monk at the hands of Georges, the Nestorian Metropolitan of China; seven years later he left his native city in order to lead

¹ See Juwaini's *Jahūn Gushā* i. 200-201, etc., and especially Rashid's *Jāmi'* at *Tawārīkh* (*ibid.*), p. 249.

more easily the life of a hermit, after which his soul was constantly aspiring ; he was soon followed by another Christian, called Marcus, who was born in Kaushang in 1244, and who received the monastic garb at the hands of another Metropolitan called Nestorius. After having spent some time in their hermitage, they left together their native country to go to Jerusalem on pilgrimage, viâ Tangut, Kashgar, Tūs, and Marāgha. Marcus is then ordained Metropolitan of China, under the name of Yahb-Alāha, and his friend and colleague Şauma is nominated Visitor-General. After two years, Yahb-Alāha becomes Patriarch of the Nestorians, and during his long term of office which lasted thirty-six years, he saw eight Mongol Il-Khans succeeding one another : Abaka, Aḥmad, Arghūn, Gaikhātu, Baidu, Ghāzān, Uljāitu, and Bahādur Khan.

In 1287-8 the Emperor Arghūn and the Patriarch sent an embassy headed by Şauma to the Pope Nicholas IV. and the Christian kings of Europe,¹ in order to form a mutual alliance against the Muslims. The highly interesting narrative of the journey undertaken by this embassy sheds great rays of light on the glorious Nestorian Christianity at the time of its greatest expansion, just before it received the death blow which reduced it to a mere sect of not more than a few hundred thousand souls. From this period the Church gradually declined until in our own days it has shrunk to a miserable community of about 40,000 refugees, the bulk of whom have settled round the city of Mosul, in the new Kingdom of 'Irāk.

(l)

It is not our intention to refer here in full to the account of Western travellers and explorers, but in order to illustrate the narrative of some Syrian historians, and corroborate the information of Syrian Synods, we cannot resist the temptation to refer, very shortly, at least to a few Western travellers of outstanding merit and importance, such as the immortal Marco Polo, and the Friars William of Rubruck, and John of Pian de Carpine.

The former speaks of Nestorians in (a) Kashgar, where they are numerous and "have churches of their own";² (b) in Samarkand,

¹ The arrival of the embassy in England is found on pp. 72-73 of Bedjan's second edition.

² *Marco Polo*, i. p. 182. (We refer to H. Yule's edition, 1903, with notes by Cordier.)

where the uncle of the Emperor Kúblai became Christian, and on this occasion the Christians built a new great Church in honour of John the Baptist (i. 184-185); (*c*) in Yarkand (i. p. 187); (*d*) in Tangut (i. 203); (*e*) in Chingintalas (i. 212); (*f*) in Sukchur, where about half of the inhabitants belonged to their Church (i. 217); (*g*) in Kanchou, where they had "three very fine Churches"; (*h*) in Erguil and Sinju (i. 274); (*i*) in Calachan, where they had "fine Churches;" (*j*) in Tenduc, where "the rule of the province is in the hands of the Christians" (i. 284); (*k*) in Cathay (i. 285); (*l*) in Yachi (ii. 66); (*m*) in Cacanfu; (*n*) in Yangchau, where there were three Churches (ii. 154); and finally in Chinghianfu (ii. 177).

Friar William finds them also in nearly all the countries which he traverses; he meets with them in the country of Karakhata, where he noticed that the Turkish people called Nayman had for King a Nestorian;¹ the Emperor Sartach "has Nestorian priests around him who strike a board and chant their offices" (*ibid.* p. 116); "the Nestorians among the Ugurs (Eastern Turks) perform their services in the latter's language and write books in those letters; in all their towns is found a mixture of Nestorians" (*ibid.* p. 141); "the Ugurs have adopted the alphabet of the Nestorians" (*ibid.* p. 150; this sentence is from Pian de Carpine); "the Nestorians are Mongol scribes" (*ibid.* p. 150); "In fifteen cities of Cathay there are Nestorians, and they have an episcopal see in the city called Segin" (*ibid.* p. 157); "about three leagues from Cailac we found a village entirely of Nestorians" (*ibid.* p. 159); "the secretary of the Emperor Mangu, Bulgai by name, was a Nestorian" (*ibid.* p. 168); "the Emperor had his interpreter, a Nestorian" (*ibid.* p. 173): in certain holy days in the ecclesiastical calendar, "first come the Nestorian priests with their apparel, and they pray for the Emperor and bless his cup"; "and the Emperor sent one of the blessed loaves to the Emperor's son and to one of his younger brothers, who was being brought up by a Nestorian, and he knows the Gospels" (*ibid.* pp. 212-213); "and the Nestorians gave me the use of their baptistery in which was an altar; their Patriarch had sent them from Baghdad a quadrangular

¹ *The Journey of William of Rubruck . . . with two accounts of . . . John of Pian de Carpine*, translated by W. W. Rockhill, in "Hakluyt Society's" publications, No. iv. of the second series.

skin for an *antimensium*, and it had been anointed with chrism" (*ibid.* p. 215).

The other European travellers of the Middle Ages should not detain us long. "There is a kingdom twenty days' journey from Cathay of which the king and all the inhabitants are Christians, but heretics, being said to be Nestorians" (Nicolo Conti in *Cathay*, ii. 165-166).—"And in the great city of Iamzai (Yang-chau-fu) there are three churches of the Nestorians" (Friar Odoric, *Cathay*, ii. 210).—"These Nestorians are more than thirty thousand, dwelling in the said empire of Cathay, and are passing rich people. . . . They have very handsome and devoutly ordered churches, with crosses and images in honour of God and the saints. They hold sundry offices under the said emperor, and have great privileges from him; so that it is believed that if they would agree and be at one with the Minor Friars, they would convert the whole country and the emperor likewise to the true faith" (John de Cora, *Cathay*, iii. 102).—"The Uighurs were Christians of the sect of the Nestorians" (Pian de Carpine in *Friar William; passim*).—"The Nestorians . . . have grown so powerful in Cathay that they will not allow a Christian of another ritual to have ever so small a chapel" (John of Monte Corvino, *Cathay*, iii. 46).

It is clear from all the above quotations and from some other data given below that the majority of the two powerful divisions of the Turco-Tartar race: the Uighurs and the Keraites¹ were Christians. The Gospel of Christ had also penetrated another powerful confederacy of Turco-Tartar tribes, the Naimans, who comprised nine powerful clans,² the greater part of whom lived in the mountains of Tarbagatai, the Upper Irtish, and other places on the Chinese frontier; the remainder on the Upper Ishim and the neighbouring countries. Rubruck expressly stated that they were Christians: "A people called Naiman who were Nestorian Christians,"³ and Persian historians apply to them the epithet *Tarsa* which, as stated on p. 322, refers to Christians.⁴

¹ Rashid (d'Ohsson, i. 48) erroneously states that the Keraites were converted to Christianity in the time of Chingis Khan. See above, p. 309.

² Howorth's *History*, ii. 8; d'Ohsson, i. 167. In 1212 a Naiman prince of Nestorian Christianity "raised himself up to be king and seized the throne." Rubruck, *ibid.* p. 110.

³ Rockhill, *ibid.* p. 110.

⁴ *Ibid.* 17.

A fourth agglomeration of tribes who were probably half-Christians are the Merkites, a nomadic people of Turkish stock with a possible infusion of Mongol blood. They were divided into four main sections, and lived on the lower Selinga and its feeders.¹ Their Christianity is attested by Rubruck.² They are to be distinguished from the Keraites, and Pian de Carpine³ even believes them to be different from the Mekrites, who jointly with the Merkites formed the four "nations" who once constituted the Mongol stock.

On p. 337 we have also given evidence to the effect that a fifth agglomeration of Turkish tribes, the Uriyān-gaḡit, were Christians, and had in 1298 a Christian queen.

We exclude from the purview of our enquiry the Chinese and Mohammedan historians, but we cannot refrain from quoting an author of exceptional authority, to wit, 'Ali ibn Rabban at-Ṭabari, the well-informed physician and table-guest of the Caliph Mutawakkil (847-861). In a memorable sentence he compares the Christianity of those Eastern Turks who form the subject of the references of some of our historians and Synods, to that of the Armenians, of the Greeks, and of the Franks of Europe, . . . "and kindled it (the war) with spears and swords as far as the countries of the Greeks, of the Franks, of the tent-dwelling Turanians, and of the Armenians. Outside these countries what Christians are to be found in the country of the Turks except a small and despicable quantity of Nestorians, scattered among the nations?"⁴

Here the Muslim apologist and the ex-secretary of the heroic but unfortunate Māzyār of Tabaristan apparently draws a distinction between Turanians and Turks. The latter, who were mostly Muslims, he simply styles "Turks," but to the former, because of their Christianity, he applies the derisive epithet of "Turanians," a name of which a nationalist "Iranian" Persian would readily make use in speaking of the Turks.

2. SYNODS AND BISHOPRICS.

We will enumerate here the Bishoprics of the countries bordering on the river Oxus. If a town is considered to be worth promoting to a

¹ D'Ohsson, *Histoire*, i. 54; Howorth, *ibid.* i. 22, 698.

² Rockhill, *ibid.* p. 111.

³ *Ibid.* p. 112.

⁴ *Book of Religion and Empire*, p. 156 of my edition.

Bishopric, or even an Archbishopric, it is hardly possible to deny the existence in it or round it of a rather considerable number of Christians. We cannot here attempt to give even a rough estimate of the number of Christians who in ancient times inhabited the zone extending from about the centre of modern Persia as far as the end of the continent of Asia, and with the sources at our disposal such an estimate would be well nigh impossible, but there seems to be no exaggeration in asserting that there were Christians scattered in almost all the innumerable districts of this immense territory, and that they were in rather considerable strength in some specified towns or localities. Their number must have varied according to the importance of a place as a centre of commerce or as a highway to be constantly trodden under the feet of camels, mules, or horses. We will divide this section into two distinct geographical groups : (1) the regions lying on the Western banks of the river ; (2) those lying on the Eastern banks. The Bishoprics in the first section are given in the alphabetical order :—

A.

WESTERN BANKS OF THE RIVER.

Abīward or Bāward, the district lying north-west of Khurāsān on the edge of the Merw desert. A Bishop John is mentioned for it in the Synod of Joseph in 554 (p. 366).¹ The diocese embraced also the neighbouring town of Shahr-Phirūz.

Abrashahr, the district of Khurāsān in which the more modern town of Naishapur is built. Abrashahr is also called Iran Shahr. A Bishop, David, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Dadishō' in 424 (p. 285), and another called Yohannis in the Synod of Babai in 497 (pp. 310, 311, 316). In this last year the see was enlarged so as to include also Tūs. It is to be distinguished from another *Abrashahr* better known under the name of Hamshahrah in the Mūkān. See Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 176.

Amul,² in Tabaristan, north of Damawand. A Bishop, Sūrīn, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Joseph in 554 (p. 366).

¹ Unless otherwise stated all the references are to the *Synodicon Orientale*.

² To be distinguished from the Amul, on the left bank of the Oxus, about 120 miles to the north-east of Merw (see Le Strange's *Lands of the East. Caliph.*, pp. 403-404, etc.).

Arran, the region north of the rivers Araxes and Kur, west of the Caspian Sea. A Bishop is mentioned for it in the Synod of Yahb-Alāha in 420 (p. 276, cf. also p. 619).

Badisi, or Bādihgīs, a district situated north of Herat. It was the residence of the Hephthalite Turkish Kings. A Bishop, Gabriel, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Ishō'-Yahb in 585 (p. 423).

Bist (or Bust), a town in Sijistan on the river Helmund. A Bishop, Sergius, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Aba in 544 (pp. 343-344).

Būshanj, a town west of Herat, on the Harī-rūd. A Bishop, Ḥabīb, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Ishō'-Yahb in 585.

Dailūmāyē (Beith), was a province near the Caspian Sea, and it was a Bishopric as early as A.D. 225.¹ Sachau² believes that this information may possibly refer to Dailamistan, which according to Yāḳūt (*Mu'jam*, ii. 711, edit. Wüstenfeld) was a village near Shahrzūr, which served as a halting place to the Sasanian kings.

Farah, a town in Sijistan near the river of this name. A Bishop, Yazd-Afrīd, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Aba in 544 (pp. 343-344). The diocese was joined then to that of Ḳash, another town situated south-east of Farah.

Herat, a town in Khurāsān, north-west of modern Afghanistan. A Bishop, Yazdoi, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Dadīshō' in 424; another of its Bishops, Gabriel, is found in the Synod of Akāk in 486; a third Bishop, Yazdād, attends the Synod of Babai in 497; and a fourth Bishop, Gabriel, is in the Synod of Ishō'-Yahb, in 585 (pp. 285, 299, 301, 311, 423, cf. p. 620).

Jilān (or Gilān), province of the south-west coast of the Caspian Sea. A Bishop, Sūrīn, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Joseph in 554 (p. 366). We must here refer to the eighteen martyrs of Jilān, who suffered martyrdom on the 12th April, 351, under Sapor II. (Bedjan, *Acta Mart.* iv. 166-170). According to Barhebraeus (ii. 15) the Gilanians were converted by the Apostle Addai.

Jurjān, province of the south-east coast of the Caspian Sea. A Bishop, Abraham, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Bābai in 497; another Bishop, Z'ōra, is found in the Synod of Ezechiel in 576 (pp. 310, 311, 316, 368).

Ḳādistan, a district in the neighbourhood of Herat. A Bishop, Gabriel, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Ishō'-Yahb in 585 (p. 423).

Khamlikh, a town of the Khazars in Hyrcania, on the Caspian Sea. The Bishopric is mentioned by 'Amr,³ and Gismondi has wrongly printed it

¹ Mshiha-Zkha, in my *Sources Syriaques*, i. 30.

² *Ausbreitung*, p. 9.

³ *De Pat. Nest. Comm.* (edit. Gismondi), pp. 126, 132.

as Ḥalah and Ḥalih. The correction is due to Sachau,¹ who rightly refers to Yāqūt, *Geographical Dictionary*, ii. 437.

Merw, a celebrated town north of Khurāsan. A Bishop, Bar Shabba,² is mentioned for it in the Synod of Dadishō' in 424; another Bishop, Parūmai, is found in the Synod of Akāk in 486; a third Bishop, John, was in the Synod of Babai in 497; a fourth Bishop, called David, was in the Synod of Aba in 544, and in that of Joseph in 554; and a fifth Bishop, Gregory, is mentioned in the Synod of Ishō'-Yahb in 585 (pp. 285, 306, 310, 315, 328, 332, 366, 367, 423).

Merw-ar-Rūd, a town built by the Sasanian King Bahram IV. at about four days' journey south of Merw. A Bishop, Theodore, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Joseph in 544 (p. 366).

Ray, a very important town formerly situated north-east of the Jibāl Province, about thirty miles south-east of modern Teheran. A Bishop, David, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Dadishō' in 424; another Bishop, Joseph, attended the Synod of Akāk in 486, and of Babai in 497; a third Bishop, Daniel, is mentioned in the Synod of Aba in 544.

Rukhut, a town in Sijistan. A Bishop is mentioned for it in the Synod of Aba in 544 (pp. 343-344).

Sijistan, the well-known province situated in our days in modern Afghanistan. A Bishop, Afrīd, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Dadishō, in 424; other Bishops, Yazd-Afrīd and Sergius, are found in the Synod of Aba in 544; a third Bishop, called Kurmah, attended the Synod of Ezechiel in 576 (pp. 285, 339, 343, 368).

Tūs, ancient capital of Khurāsan; its ruins are seen at about fifteen miles north-west of Mashhad. A Bishop, Yohannis, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Babai in 497 (pp. 311, 316). From this date the diocese comprised also the town of Abṛashahr.

Zarang, an important town in Sijistan. A Bishop, Yazd-Afrīd, is mentioned for it in the Synod of Aba in 544 (pp. 343-344).

B.

EASTERN BANKS OF THE RIVER.

We include under this head East and West Turkestan of our days, Mongolia, Manchuria, North China, and South-Eastern parts of Siberia. Unfortunately the Synods of the Nestorian Church do

¹ *Ausbreitung*, p. 22.

² See about him Mari, *Book of the Tower*, p. 23, and *Chronique de Seert*, ii. 253-258.

not bring us any help in this part of our research, because, owing to the long distance that separated the above countries from the centre of the Patriarchate, there was a moral impossibility for their Bishops to attend the ecclesiastical assemblies with their colleagues whose diocese were nearer the Sasanian, and at a later date, the Abbasid, capital, where the Patriarch resided and held as unlimited a spiritual power as that wielded by any Pope of the Middle Ages ; indeed, 'Abdishō' informs us in his *Synodical Canons* (cap. xix.), that the Metropolitans of India, China, and Samarkand were, owing to long distances, exempted from attending the General Synods of the Church ; instead of their personal attendance they had to write a letter of submission to the Patriarch once every six years, in order to inform him of the spiritual and moral needs of their dioceses.¹ The official Acts of Councils being thus by necessity deficient in the information which would highly interest modern scholars, we will turn our attention to the historians of these Councils, the general historians, and the official correspondence that passed from time to time between the Patriarch and the very remote Bishops or Archbishops of those regions.

We believe that it was this immense geographical distance that was the cause of the slight divergences in the religious outlook, and even in some minor points of dogma, that separate the official Christianity of the Eastern Church from that which one finds in the Christian monuments unearthed by the explorers of the last half century. These differences extend even to liturgical prayers attributed to no less important Fathers than Theodore of Mopsuestia,² and Narsai.³ By force of circumstances, those far-off Bishops were left more or less to themselves ; and cast off from the rest of their religious brethren of the West they had to manage their spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs to the best of their ability.

The Syriac writers of the more civilised regions of the Sasanian Empire had often only vague ideas of the ethnographical characteristics of the peoples inhabiting the far-off regions beyond the Oxus, and their geographical acquaintance with the nature of the country seems also to

¹ Cf. Assemani, *B.O.*, iii. 347, and iv. 439.

² See our *Synopsis of Christian Doctrine according to Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 1920.

³ See the introduction to our edition of his Works : *Narsai Homiliæ et Carmina*, 1904, vol. i.

have been deficient in more points than one. In this respect they resembled many of their Muslim successors and pupils in Greek sciences, whose knowledge of those regions is often summed up in the vague phrase *ma'warā, annahr*, "on the other side of the river" Oxus. To our knowledge, no Syriac writer has even mentioned by name the Mongols, till the Lower Middle Ages, i.e. till the time when they swept over the whole civilised world, and conquered it with a rapidity unparalleled in the annals of history. Everything beyond the Oxus is generally referred by Syrian historians to the less remote Turks and Huns with whom they had more intimate intercourse. The writer of the present document singles himself out from almost all other writers who preceded and followed him down to the Mongol invasion, by once applying to them the more accurate ethnological appellation of *Tatar*, which some ignorant people of Europe transformed in later generations into *Tartars* from *tartarus*, "hell" (cf. the well-known sentence of Matthew Paris). In the Mongol Empire the Christians were sometimes known under the name of *Tarsa*, but more generally under that of *Arkägün*.¹

Apart from the information furnished by the present document, the oldest references found in Syriac literature to the existence of Bishoprics in Turkestan is that recorded in the "Life of Mar Aba" which we have already quoted, and which goes as far back as A.D. 549. Unfortunately the historian does not give us the name of the town where the newly ordained Bishop resided.

The late compilers of juridical decisions of the Synods refer to the dioceses situated beyond the Oxus simply by the words "Metropolitan of the Turks," i.e. Turkestan. This Metropolitan must presumably have had many Suffragan Bishops under him. This view is rendered probable by the fact that the "Metropolitan of the Turks" was in the rank of precedence counted as Xth among the high Metropolitans of the Nestorian Church, who had under their jurisdiction about one hundred and eighty Bishops, and took precedence over the Metropolitans of Razikāyé (comprising Ray, Kūm, and Kāshān), that of Heriwāné, i.e. of Herat, that of Armenia, and finally that of China (Šin and Māšin) and Java,² who was the fifteenth in rank.

¹ Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao*, 1914, p. 636. In the *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh of Rashīd ad-Dīn* (Gibb Mem.), p. 470, the word is written *Arkāoun*.

² *Synod. Orient.*, pp. 619-620.

On the other hand in the precious semi-official list of the Metropolitans of the Nestorian Church beyond the Oxus and the Far East, compiled by 'Amr,¹ and arranged according to the rank of precedence, we have the following important information: the 14th, the Metropolitan of China; the 15th, the Metropolitan of India; the 21st, the Metropolitan of Samarkand; the 22nd, the Metropolitan of the Turks; the 25th, the Metropolitan of Khān Balīk and Fālik; the 26th, the Metropolitan of Tangut; and the 27th, the Metropolitan of Kashgar and Nuākith.

The strength of the Nestorian Church beyond the Oxus may be gauged from the fact that 'Amr expressly states that each one of the above Metropolitans had either twelve or six Suffragan Bishops under his jurisdiction.

The list of the Nestorian Archbishoprics written by Elijah, Metropolitan of Damascus,² is very incomplete, and mentions only Samarkand (as Kand). Owing to his remoteness from the theatre of events, this Metropolitan knew probably very little of the exact condition of his Church beyond Persia proper.

The principal cities of Central Asia and the Far East, which were the seats of Metropolitans and might have had according to 'Amr from six to twelve Bishops under them were: Samarkand, Kashgar, Khaṭai, Tangut, and Khān Bālīk. We will give below all the references to these Archbishoprics in Syriac and Christian Arabic literature.

SAMARKAND was the principal town of the ancient province of Sogdiana, situated on the river Soghd, about one hundred and fifty miles east of Bukhara. According to 'Abdishō' (*Canonical Synods*, cap. xv.) the city was promoted to an Archbishopric by the Patriarch Šliba-Zkha (A.D. 712-728), and according to some other authorities it was chosen for that honour by the Patriarch Aḥai (A.D. 410-415), or Shīla (A.D. 505-523),³ but we believe that these two last dates are somewhat too early. In the quotations which we gave above from the letters of the Patriarch Timothy, there is unfortunately no mention of the precise city to which he ordained the "Bishops of the Turks."

Another important province of the part of the world under consideration, which had been elevated to the rank of an Archbishopric,

¹ *De Pat. Nestor. Comm.*, p. 73 (of the translation).

² *Assemani, B. O.*, ii. 458-460.

³ Cf. *ibid.* iii. 346.

is that of TANGUT. This province gave rise to a kingdom, called by the Chinese Hsi Hsia, which ruled over the present province of Kan-su and adjoining country from A.D. 1004 to 1226, when it was finally destroyed by Chingiz Khan (see d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, i. 370 *et sq.*). The people who formed its diocese must have included a considerable number of Turks and Mongols. It was bounded by the Sung Empire on the South and East, by the Khitan on the North-East, the Tartars on the North, the Uighur Turks on the West, and the Tibetans on the South-West. The number of Christians found in the city itself was certainly considerable, and even in the thirteenth century the two monks referred to above—Šauma and Marcus—testify to their religious zeal: "They went from there to the town of Tangut. When the inhabitants of the city heard that Fathers Šauma and Marcus came there on their way to Jerusalem, they went with diligence to meet them, men and women, young men and children, because the faith of the Tangutians was very staunch and their heart pure."¹ We meet now and then in Syriac literature with the names of its Metropolitans; see, for instance, 'Amr,² who among the Bishops who consecrated Yahb-Alāha III. mentions Ishō-Sabran "Metropolitan of Tangut."³ In this connection we will refer to the Patriarch Timothy's sentence quoted above concerning the ordination of a Bishop for Tibet, because it is highly probable that the seat of such a Bishop was Tangut, the elevation of which to an Archbishopric will then date back to the end of the eighth Christian century, or about A.D. 790.⁴ The Si-ngan-fu of the Nestorian monument in China may have been under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Tangut.

A third important city which was the seat of a Nestorian Metropolitan was KASHGAR, the well-known town of Eastern Turkestan, and historically the most important centre of the actual province of Sinkiang. It was almost completely destroyed in the thirteenth century on account of famine and wars, and when the monks Šauma and Marcus reached it on their journey to Jerusalem, they found no in-

¹ *Histoire de Yahb-Alāha*, pp. 17-18.

² *De Pat. Nest. Comm.* p. 72.

³ About Tangut in the Lower Middle Ages see Rashīd's *Jāmi' at-Tawarikh* (Gibb Mem.), pp. 597-599.

⁴ About its exact site, see further Bonin, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, p. 585.

habitants in it at all.¹ But we know that some forty years earlier, or in about 1180, the Patriarch Elijah III. (1176-1190) nominated two Metropolitans for it: a Bishop named John, and after his death another one named Sabrīsho'.²

In 845 an edict of the Emperor of China ordered all monks, whether Buddhist or Christian, to become laymen.³ Christianity, however, did not seem to have been much affected by it, because in an early and important statement the contemporary Patriarch Theodose (852-858) still mentions the Archbishops of Samarkand, India, and China.⁴

Syriac literature does not clearly indicate the precise time in which a Nestorian Metropolitan was first established in China. We can, however, state with confidence that such an event took place at a relatively early period. The Patriarch Timothy writes about 790 in his book of Epistles,⁵ that the Metropolitan of China had died; and Thomas of Marga in the passage quoted above gives us the name of David, the Metropolitan of China, in about 787. All this suggests that China was much earlier than the eighth century the seat of a Metropolitan. We should probably not be far below the boundaries of truth if we were to assume that the Nestorian Church had a Metropolitan in China not later than the seventh century, or about A.D. 670. Prof. Saeki⁶ puts forward the plausible hypothesis that the above David was ordained by the Patriarch Timothy as Metropolitan of China in succession to Ching-Ching Adam of the famous Nestorian Monument of Si-ngan-fu. The information furnished by this famous monument erected in 779 (on this date see below pp. 331-333), leads to the same conclusion.

We are in a position to advance a step further in the direction of the introduction of Christianity in China. The document which we are editing and translating in the present study after enumerating the name of four Turkish Christian kings adds that all of them are known by the collective and generic name of *Tatar*, and their country

¹ *Vie de Yahb-Alaha*, *ibid.* p. 19.

² 'Amr, *De Patriar. Nestor. Commentaria*, p. 64 of the translation.

³ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument*, p. 47.

⁴ Assemani, iv. 439.

⁵ *Timothei Epistolæ*, p. 109 (in *C.S.C.O.*).

⁶ *The Nestorian Monument in China*, p. 187.

is called Sericon (with a *c* or a *k*). We may state with confidence that the author of the document, whoever he was, was dealing with Mongolia and North China. The well-known name *Tatar* should leave absolutely no doubt in our mind on the subject. Further :—

1. The geographical work of Ptolemy was known to the Syrians.¹ Their books on Geography, Astronomy, and Astrology, testify to this fact ; and it is even probable that parts of the work of the famous Greek geographer were translated by Sergius of Resh'aina who died in 536.²

2. Now Ptolemy's geographical work contains a special chapter devoted to *Serice* or *Serike* (book vi. ch. 16). It is bounded according to him on the West by Scythia beyond Imaus, on the North by the Terra Incognita, on the East by the eastern Terra Incognita, and on the South by that part of India that lies beyond the Ganges, and then by the Sinae. In a footnote to Ptolemy's text as cited in *Cathay*³ the editors add a note to the effect that there is no question that the *Serice* described here is mainly the basin of Chinese Turkestan. (*Ibid.* i. 20 sq.) See in this connection the Syriac geographical fragment entitled *Description of the Earth* (purporting to emanate from Ptolemy, king of Egypt !) as printed in *C.S.C.O.*⁴ On p. 211 it is maintained that the country of *Serikus* is situated East of Scythia and counts no less than sixteen towns. Cf. also *ibid.* (p. 213) the people called *Seriko* and counted side by side with the Scythians.

3. It is highly probable that the Syriac author of the present document applied to North China and Mongolia the name previously assigned to them by Ptolemy whom he was reading either in Greek or in a Syriac translation, because till about the middle of the ninth century Greek constituted an integral part of the curriculum of all the important East and West Syrian schools. All this seems to point to the antiquity of the Syriac document which might thus have been

¹ See, for instance, Syr. MS. No. 44 of the John Rylands Library, and also the geographical section of Barhebraeus's work entitled *Mnārath Kudhshē*, etc.

² Severius Sabokht who died in 666 may also have had something to do with this translation.

³ Edit. Yule-Cordier, i. 194.

⁴ Third series, vol. vi. pp. 202-213. The work passes under the name of Zacharias Rhetor of the end of the sixth century.

written before all the Medieval and pre-Medieval writers who use in their books the names *Mongolia* or *Khatai* (Cathay). The oldest mention in Syriac literature of China in the form of *Ṣîn*, *Baith Ṣināyē*, or *Ṣinistān* dates, if I mistake not, from the eighth century, and the documents containing these appellations have already been or will presently be quoted. They are the Nestorian monument in China, the letters of Timothy the Patriarch, and the history of Thomas of Marga. The most ancient Syrian writer who mentions China is Bardaisan¹ who calls the country *Sher* "Seres" and its inhabitants *Sherāyē* "Sereans." From this vocable is derived the Syriac word *Sherāya* "silk," exactly like the Latin *Sericum* from "Seres."

We must also allude to the fact that the designation of Turkestan and China by the Greek *Serice* (from Seres) is used by some other West Syrian writers, although apparently unknown to Nestorian authors. A rather early Monophysite work² calls the Chinese *Serikāye*, but the clearest passage in this connection is undoubtedly that of Jacob of Edessa³ who writes: "All these Empires had risen in this time in the countries of Great Asia, not counting those of the countries of India, nor those of the North, in the countries of *Seriki*, which is called *Tasishniṣṭan*" (vowels uncertain). This sentence is copied verbatim in Michael the Syrian's great history.⁴

The intercourse between China and Mesopotamia has always been constant and active. A king wishing to intimidate a Christian Bishop would threaten to banish him to China,⁵ because ships sailing from the Persian Gulf to China and *vice versâ* were an almost daily occurrence.⁶

We do not believe that the *Sericon* of the geography of the document has anything to do with *Sar-i-kol* or *Sarkol*, the mountainous district of the Chinese Pamirs of which many travellers have spoken at some length. The present capital of the district is Tashkurghan, separated by about fifteen miles from the grazing

¹ *Book of the Laws* (in *Pat. Syr.*) ii. p. 583. See also the so-called "Hymn of the Soul" in the Acts of Thomas: Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, iii. 113.

² In Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 206-207.

³ *Chronica Minora* (C.S.C.O.), p. 283.

⁴ i. 120 (edit. Chabot).

⁵ *Michael the Syrian* (*ibid.*), ii. 528.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 61, 84, and many other writers.

grounds of Tagharma, on the main road to Kashgar. The district is in our days inhabited by a considerable number of Aryan population from Western Asia. See A. Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i. 89 *seqq.*, and Ella and P. Syke's *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia*, pp. 148-174.

In about 1063 the Patriarch Sabrīsho 'Ill., sent Bishop George to Sijistan and from there to the fourth Nestorian Archbishopric of the Far East: KHATAI, in North China.¹

It is in place here to remark that the monk Marcus, one of the heroes of the above embassy of the Mongol Emperor Arghūn, had been himself ordained Metropolitan of this Khatai and of Ōng (Hwang ?) by the Patriarch Dinḥa in 1280 ;² this Archbishopric comprised at this period a good belt of Northern China and Manchuria, and seems also to have included some of those Eastern Turks and Mongols better known under the name of *Ḳara Khitai*.³ The name is identical with Khata, or Cathay, as North China, or even all China, is designated in some languages.⁴ From Syriac sources alone we are not able to locate and name with precision the city which was the seat of this North-China Archbishopric ; and, if all signs do not mislead us, we do not believe that there was a Metropolitan of Khatai before the eleventh Christian century. Friar William of Rubruck (*in op. sup. laud.*, p. 244) mentions a Bishop of Cathay in A.D. 1254. More than three centuries previous to this time, Khatai seems to have been a collective name of several Mongolian and Eastern Turkish tribes who inhabited Eastern Manchuria, and who for some two hundred years held China under their sway. In Barhebraeus's *Chron. Syr.* (p. 481, etc.), in Juwaini's *Jahān Gushā* (Gibb Mem., i. 15, etc.), and in Rashīd ad-Dīn's *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh* (*ibid.* p. 328, etc.) Khatai roughly corresponds with North China. For the delimitation of *Ḳara Khitai* see Rashīd's *Jāmi'* (*ibid.* p. 397).

Another Bishopric of China, the name of which is mentioned in Syriac literature, is that of the town of Kamul which sent its Bishop John in 1266 to the consecration of the Patriarch Dinḥa.⁵ It is the

¹ Mari, *Book of the Tower*, p. 110 of the translation.

² *Vie de Yahb-Alāha*, *ibid.* pp. 28-29.

³ *Vie de Yahb-Alāha*, *ibid.* pp. 29.

⁴ Cf. W. Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*, *ibid.* i., p. 11, and especially A. Stein, *ibid.*, in *Notes and Addenda*, by H. Cordier, 1920, pp. 53-54.

⁵ *Amr*, *ibid.* p. 70.

town called in Mongol Khamil, and in Chinese Hami. See about it Yule-Cordier, *Marco-Polo*, *ibid.* i. 211.

We will here recall the fact that Yahb-Alāha III., the Nestorian Patriarch to whose interesting life we have often referred, was a Chinese born and brought up in Kaushang,¹ situated in Southern Shanhsi, and that his friend and life companion, Šauma, was a native of Khān Bālīk, supposed to be the Peking of our days. 'Amr,² however, says that the Patriarch was born in the Khatai which we have discussed above.

A fifth Archbishopric, mentioned by 'Amr in his list, is that of KHĀN BĀLĪK and Fālīk. Sachau³ believes that Khān Bālīk stands for Jān Bālīk, (a simple change of a dot in the Arabic characters), which has been identified by Bonin⁴ with Urumtsi, a town on the great north road from China to Kuldja, and the administrative capital of the actual province of Sinkiang; it is also known under the name of Bish-Bālīk. On the other hand, Sachau restores Al-Fālīk to Al-Bālīk (= Ili-Bālīk) which is to be identified with Almalik of Bonin (*ibid.*), and of Marquart in his *Osteurop. und. Ostas. Streifz.*, p. 498. See about it Rashīd's *Jāmi'* (*ibid.* p. 470).

The Bishopric of Nuākith (= Nawākāth) mentioned by 'Amr in the list which we have quoted above, is that which is referred to by two Arab Geographers, Ibn Khurdadbiḥ and Kudāmāh⁵ as situated in Turkestan, and De Goeje has written its itinerary in parasangs from the town of Tarāz; this itinerary is also found in W. Barthold's monograph *Zur Gesch. des Christentums in Mittel-Asien*.⁶ See Marquart's *Eranshahr*, p. 82.

The Nestorian monument of China erected in 779 (on this date see below, pp. 331-333) contains the name of a Bishop John, but unfortunately the town of which he was the Bishop is not mentioned. Further, Friar William of Rubruck,⁷ mentions a Nestorian episcopal see in the city of Segin, which is generally identified with Hsi-an-fu, the great centre of Christianity in China in the eighth and ninth

¹ *Vie*, p. 9.

² *De Pat. Nestor. Comm.*, p. 71.

³ *Ausbreitung*, p. 22.

⁴ *Jour. Asiatique*, 1900, 587.

⁵ *Bibliotheca Geograph. Arab.* (edit. De Goeje), vi. 28, 29, 205, 206.

⁶ *Transl. of R. Stübe*, pp. 33 and 34.

⁷ *In op. suprā. laud.*, p. 157.

centuries. It is believed that in the thirteenth century the city did not bear the name of Hsi-an-fu, but was called by its older name *Chang-an*, from which William of Rubruck's *Segin*. Objection has been taken to the existence of a Bishopric in this town on the ground that if there was a Bishop in it the above embassy of Mar Yahb-Alaha and Rabban Šauma would have visited it on the journey from Kaushang in Southern Shan-hsi to Western Asia. Of all arguments this is one of the flimsiest. Were not the two monks going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem free to follow the route that best suited their plans? Or are we allowed to hold as non-existent any Bishop who does not happen to be mentioned in their narrative?

The activities of the Nestorian Church extended also to the years following this memorable period. Barhebraeus registers the following event under the year 1590 of the Seleucids (A.D. 1279): "In this year a certain Simeon whose surname was *son of Kālīj* was Bishop of Tūs, a town of Khurāsan. The Catholicos Dinḥa ordained him Metropolitan of the Chinese, but before proceeding to China he began to show recalcitrance towards the Catholicos, who summoned him to the town of Ashnu (Ushnaj) in Adhurbaijan, where he was residing."¹

In the document called "the History of the Indians"² we are informed that the Nestorian Patriarch Elijah V. ordained in A.D. 1503 the following Archbishops: Yahb Alāha, Dinḥa and Jacob and sent them to India, China, and Dabag (= Java).

3. REMAINING TRACES AND MONUMENTS.

Here also we will confine ourselves exclusively to Syriac sources, which we will analyse as follows:—

A.

MONUMENT OF SI-NGAN-FU.

We could do no better than begin our section with that most famous monument of Si-ngan-fu, the text of which has been edited, translated, and commented upon by many critics since it was first dug out near the district town of Chou-Chih in March, 1625. To our knowledge the most recent and comprehensive (although somewhat

¹ *Chron. Eccles.*, iii. 449.

² *Assem., B.O.*, iii. 591 sq.

popular) work on the subject is that of Professor Saeki entitled *The Nestorian Monument in China* (S.P.C.K. 1916). On the Syriac part of the monument we will venture to make the following observations.

(a)

(P. 265, ll. 5, 14.)¹ Many pages have been written by eminent scholars on the subject of the date of the erection of the monument, which is 1092 of the Greeks, as compared with the death of the Patriarch Ḥnānīshō', in whose time the monument was erected. We believe that we are able to remove all chronological difficulties in this connection in the following manner :—

It is a well-known fact among Syriac scholars that the computation of the years of the Seleucids varied in Syrian Churches between 309-313 B.C., and after careful investigations in the works of all Syrian chronologists and historians I have come to the conclusion that it is very unsafe to fix always on 311 as the year to be subtracted from a given Seleucid date in order to obtain the right Christian year. Every case should be taken on its own merits. The Seleucid year 1092 of the monument may, therefore, correspond with any Christian year within 779-783. Now 'Amr² followed by Assemani, and by many historians after him, gives the year of the death of the Patriarch Ḥnānīshō' in the Seleucid computation as 1089, but that the dates furnished by the celebrated Christian Arab writer are not always reliable, is proved by the fact that all the elements of the chronological computation of the Festival of Easter, which enter into the cycle of his Seleucid years, are hopelessly wrong. Happily, however, the chronologist Elijah of Nisibin, gives us the year of the Hijrah, and takes us out of the labyrinth of the uncertainties of the year of the Greeks. According to him,³ Ḥnānīshō' was elected in A.H. 159, and died after a Patriarchate of four years ; his death, therefore, should have occurred in A.H. 163, in which Timothy succeeds him (Elijah, *ibid.* p. 184). A.H. 159 begins on 31st October, 775, and A.H. 163 begins on 17th September, 779. Māri⁴ gives the year A.H. 162 for the election of Timothy ; but I believe that he has fallen into a slight chronological

¹ The references are to Saeki's work.

² *De Pat. Nestor. Comm.*, p. 37.

³ *Opus Chronologicum in C.S.C.O.*, vol. vii. of the 3rd series, p. 183.

⁴ *De Pat. Nestor. Comm.*, p. 63.

error that can easily be explained by the fact that this A.H. 162 begins on the 28th September, i.e. only two days before the beginning of the next year in the Nestorian Ecclesiastical Calendar in which the year began at the sunset of the 30th September or on the eve of 1st October.

The information registered by 'Amr (*ibid.*) to the effect that the Patriarchate remained vacant for more than a year after the death of Ḥnānīshō' seems to be unwarranted; indeed all the historians, Barhebraeus,¹ Māri,² and Elijah,³ etc., are of opinion that Timothy was nominated (although somewhat surreptitiously) Patriarch within the limits of the normal delay that accompanied Patriarchal elections in the East, i.e. within the interval of, say, two to four months; further, all the historians agree also that the Patriarchate of Ḥnānīshō' lasted four years.

The problem of the precise year of the death of Ḥnānīshō' having been elucidated, we will proceed to examine the difficulty of the exact computation of the years of the Seleucids in the eighth Christian century, as compared with the years of the Hijrah. We are happily in a position to solve this difficulty in a safe way through an absolutely unimpeachable source. The Syriac manuscript No. 4 of the John Rylands Library, which contains Biblical and liturgical matter, is copied by a Chinese facsimilist from a Nestorian MS. preserved in Peking. It was either originally written in that city or more probably brought there from the Middle East by one of those very Nestorian missionaries mentioned in the Nestorian monument, because it is dated only twenty-eight years before the erection of the monument (see below, pp. 336-337). The colophon of the MS. is fortunately dated both in the year of the Greeks and in that of the Hijrah. The Greek year which is given in it is written in words and not in figures, and is 1064, and it is said therein to correspond with the year of the Hijrah 134, which is also written in words and not in figures. This proves without any doubt that in the eighth century the Nestorians of Mesopotamia and the Nestorian Missionaries of China counted the era of the Seleucids as 313 B.C. and not 310 or 311, or even 312, because it is only by subtracting 313 from the Seleucid year 1064 that we get A.H. 134. This timely discovery makes the Seleucid year 1092 written on the

¹ *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 166.

² *De Patriar.*, p. 63.

³ *Ibid.*

Nestorian monument to correspond with A.D. 779, i.e. the very year of the death of the Patriarch Ḥnānīshō'. The year, therefore, of the erection of the Nestorian monument in Si-ngan-fu is 779, and not 781 as hitherto believed, and there is no discrepancy whatever in the date of the monument as compared with that of the death of the Patriarch Ḥnānīshō'.

(b)

(Page 267, line 1.) The first line reads "Yohannis, deacon, and *Yadha*." The last word has been translated by "and the secretary." There is no such a Syriac word in existence, and we believe this translation to be inadmissible; *Yadha* is a shortening of the word *Ihīdhāya* "monk," which is so often used in the preceding lines. The scribe resorted to abbreviations in this line in order to leave space for the Chinese characters that follow the Syriac ones. The above line should, therefore, be translated by "Yohannis (John) deacon and monk."

(c)

(Page 265, lines 17-18.) The inscription mentions the name of the priest Yazdbōzid chor-episcopos of Kumdan, son of the priest Miles from Balkh, town of Taḥuristan. The use by a Syrian writer of the Persian termination *Silān* at the end of a proper name indicates that he was a native of, or brought up or living in, a country stretching from about Central Persia of our days eastwards, and not westwards. To express "Taḥuristan" a Syrian born in the Western side of Central Persia would have used the expression "Beith Taḥūrāye." There is not much doubt in my mind that the majority if not all of the Syriac names appearing in the monument belonged to Christian missionaries who were Persian by birth; indeed the bulk of the Nestorian Church and its most virile element have always been men of what we would call to-day Persian nationality.

B.

GRAVESTONES.

It was in 1885 that some Russian explorers first came into contact with two Nestorian cemeteries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Russian province of Semirychensk in South Siberia, or

Russian Turkestan, near the towns of Pishpek and Tokmak. So far as I can ascertain, more than six hundred and thirty gravestones bearing Syriac inscriptions have since that year been either photographed or brought into the important Museums of Europe, chiefly into Russia. In 1886, 1888 and 1896, Prof. D. A. Chwolson undertook the work of their decipherment in three successive publications presented to the *Académie des Sciences de Saint Pétersbourg*. These worthy publications have formed the basis of many subsequent monographs, the most valuable and detailed of which are those of another Russian scholar Kokowzoff. The most ancient gravestone so far discovered is not earlier than about the middle of the ninth century, and the latest may be ascribed to about the middle of the fourteenth century. Cf. *Journal Asiatique* (9th series), 1896, viii. p. 428, and Nöldeke in *Z.D.M.G.* xliv. 520-528.

Gravestones erected in the form of a cross have also been discovered in Manchuria (*Journal Asiatique*, *ibid.* pp. 428-429) and Nayan, King of that country, was a Christian and had inscribed the Sign of the Cross on his banners.

The dates used in the above inscriptions are those of the Seleucid era, which has been in constant use in the Nestorian Church, and those of the Turco-Mongolian cycle of 12 years which bore the names of rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog, and pig.

The Christian community of that almost lost corner of the earth must have been fairly considerable, because among the about three hundred gravestones of men, published by Chwolson, there are nine archdeacons, eight doctors of ecclesiastical jurisprudence and of Biblical interpretation, twenty-two visitors, three commentators, forty-six scholastics, two preachers and an imposing number of priests.

The names borne by the members of this Christian community are highly interesting for the Turkish onomastical science; but here and there one picks up names of a decidedly Greek origin, quite distinguished from those names that are sanctioned in the Old and New Testaments; ex. gr. Julia. A unique feature in their case is the use of the name *Kushtanz*, which Chwolson identifies with *Constance*, as a second member of a formative compound; so we meet with names of Mary Kushtanz, Rebecca Kushtanz, Şaliba Kushtanz, etc. Another interesting feature of the proper names is that Syriac abstract and concrete

nouns are pressed into use, apparently on account of the paucity of Christian names in that part of the world ; so we find Shlāma (Peace), Taibūtha (Grace), Shilya (Quiet), Shliḥa (Apostle or the Naked One), Šimḥa (Ray), Piṣḥa (Passover). Some of the inhabitants were also related to the country from which either they or their fathers had hailed ; so a woman is called "Terim¹ the Chinese," a priest figures as "Banūs, the Uighurian" and a layman as "Sāzik the Indian" ; another is "Kiamta of Kashgar," and yet another "Taṭṭa, the Mongol" ; further a periodeuta "Shāh-Malik" is a son of a George of Ṭūs ; and six persons are related to the city of Al-Malig. All these names imply a constant intercourse between the different Christian peoples of Central Asia and the Far East ; without such an intercourse we are not able to explain satisfactorily the fact that we have side by side in a single cemetery people from China, India, East and West Turkestan, Mongolia, Manchuria, Siberia, and Persia.

To give our readers an idea of these important gravestones we shall give the translation of five of them :—

(Chwolson, vol. iii. 18, No. 66) : "In the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-three, which is the year of the pig. This is the grave of the Priest Peter, the venerable old man."

(Chwolson, vol. i. 14, and vol. ii. 55) : "In the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-seven, which is the year of the dragon, in Turkish "Lowū". This is the grave of Shliḥa, the celebrated commentator and teacher, who illuminated all the monasteries with light ; son of Peter the august commentator of Wisdom. His voice rang as high as the sound of a trumpet. May our Lord mix his pure soul with the just men and the Fathers. May he participate in all (heavenly) joys."

(Chwolson, vol. iii. 16, No. 52) : "In the year 1616, which is that of the Turkish snake. This is the grave of Sabrishō', the arch-deacon, the blessed old man, and the perfect priest. He worked much in the interests of the church."

(Chwolson, vol. iii. 14, No. 47) : "In the year 1613. This is the grave of the priest Isaac, the blessed old man. He worked much in the interests of the town."

¹ This name Terim frequently figures in the inscriptions, and is doubtless formed from the well known river Tarim, in Chinese Turkestan.

(Chwolson, vol. iii. 16, 57): "In the year one thousand six hundred and eighteen, which is the year of the sheep. This is the grave of Jeremiah, the believer."

C.

LITURGICAL MSS.

(a)

In 1905 the German explorer Von Le Coq discovered in Chinese Turkestan some leaves containing portions of a Nestorian Breviary and Liturgy. They have been edited and translated by Sachau in *Sitzung. d. Kön. Preus. Akad. d. Wissen.*, 1905, pp. 964-973.

Sachau has identified most of the passages from the "Gazza" and the "Hudhra" of the Nestorians, and has rightly ascribed the script used in these interesting finds to the tenth or ninth century. The latter date is probably nearer to the mark than the former. The other passages which Sachau seems to have been unable to identify are also found in many MSS. of the service-books of the Church, and some may even be verified in the printed text published by Bedjan under the title of *Breviarium Chaldaicum* (Paris, 1886).

(b)

On pp. 973-978 Sachau has also published another find of Le Coq's in Chinese Turkestan, in the form of a leaf written in Syriac characters and exhibiting a Christian treatise composed in one of the middle Persian dialects of Central Asia, called Soghdian.

Far more important than the above piece are the Soghdian fragments also in Syriac characters published by F. W. K. Müller in the *Abhandlungen* of which we shall speak below. On pp. 87-88 of this publication we read in Syriac characters and in the Syriac language the *Credo* as used in the official books of the Nestorian Church, where it is attributed to the Fathers of the Council of Nicæa.

(c)

As important as the above finds is the Syr. MS. No. 4 of the John Rylands Library. It is a facsimile on Chinese paper, and made by a Chinese hand, before 1727—of an ancient Syriac Biblical and liturgical volume which in 1727 was still in possession of a Chinese mandarin of Peking.

The original MS. upon which the Chinese facsimilist was working is apparently still preserved in China. It is dated as stated above 1064 of the Greeks, and 134 of the Hijrah, and written in the time of Cyprian, Metropolitan of Nisibin. The fact that a Metropolitan of Nisibin is mentioned in the colophon seems to suggest that at least one of the missionaries who brought the MS. with them to China was living under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that famous Metropolis of the East Syrian Church. For further details of this MS. see our *Brief Descriptive Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the John Rylands Library*. It is neither a complete Bible, nor a complete liturgical book, nor a complete service-book, but it contains the most necessary parts of each ; just the kind of vade-mecum of Bible, liturgy, and breviary which a missionary would carry about with him from place to place, and through which he might satisfy all his devotional requirements with ease.

(d)

In the library of the Chaldean (Nestorian Uniate) Bishopric of Diarbekr there is a Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels written in letters of gold upon a blue background. The colophon of this MS., which has been published by Pognon,¹ informs us that it was written in 1609 of the Greeks (1298 A.D.), for the queen Arangul, the sister of Georges, king of the Christian Turks called Ganatu-Uriyang. Blochet,² who has discussed this colophon, arrives at the only possible conclusion that the name represents the powerful Turkish agglomeration of tribes called Uriyan-gakit, who must thus have been undoubtedly Christian in 1298.³

The above king is probably the King Georges of Marco Polo and John of Monte Corvino. He was killed in Mongolia in 1298 (the very year of the transcription of the Lectionary) leaving an infant child baptised by Monte Corvino. See Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, p. 632 sq. and *Cathay*, 1916, iii. 15 (edit. Yule-Cordier).

We will here refer also to another Nestorian Lectionary of the Gospels described by Blochet in his Persian catalogue of the Paris MSS. and written apparently in Samarkand in A.D. 1374.

¹ *Inscriptions Sémitiques*, p. 137.

² *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols*, p. 181.

³ Cf. Rashid's *Jāmi' at-Tawārikh* (Gibb Mem.), p. 385, etc.

Finally we should not overlook the fact that in the Middle Ages there were so many Christian Turks and Mongols in Central Asia, Persia, and Mesopotamia, that Nestorian hymn-writers were obliged to compose some hymns for their exclusive benefit in what they called Mongolian. So Khāmis, the famous Nestorian hymn-writer, composed the *Soghitha* beginning with "The Son of Mary is born to us" in alternate strophes, one in Syriac and the other in Mongolian (= Eastern Turkish). This hymn which is also mentioned below is found in some other MSS., ascribed to Khāmis; see, for instance, vol. ii., p. 693, of Wright's & Cook's *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. of Cambridge*.

(e)

Among the discoveries made near Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, are some fragments of complete leaves or parts of leaves of a Lectionary of the Gospels as used in the Nestorian Community of that part of the world. The indications of the lessons to be recited in Churches are generally in complete agreement with those of the official Nestorian Christianity of Mesopotamia and Persia. The date of the leaves cannot be later than the tenth century. They are mostly written in Syriac characters, but in the Soghdian dialect of Middle Persian interspersed with complete sentences in the Syriac language. They have been edited and translated by F. W. K. Müller in the above *Abhandlungen d. Preus. Akad. d. Wissen.* (1912, 1-111). They contain sixteen quotations from Matthew, nineteen from Luke, fifteen from John, three from 1 Corinthians, and one from Galatians, and all are in almost complete agreement with the sacred text used by the Nestorian Church. The indications of the Soghdian Lectionary have been compared with those furnished by the official Church Books of the Nestorians by Burkitt in his interesting little book, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 1925, pp. 121-123.

D.

MANICHÆAN WRITINGS.

It is not our intention here to mention all the Manichæan documents discovered in the last few years in Central Asia by the Russian, German, French, and British scientific missions. They are admirably enumerated and classified in that instructive book of P. Alfarcic, entitled "Les Ecritures Manichéennes" (vol. i. 1918, *Vue Générale*, and

vol. ii., 1919, *Étude Analytique*). The only authoritative book on the subject after Alfarc's is Le Coq's *Die Buddhistische Spät. in Mittelasien*, 1923. We will refer, however, to those of them which are written in Syriac characters, and which contain decidedly Christian matter which could not have emanated except from Nestorians living side by side with the Manichæans of those countries. Some of these have already been mentioned above. The remaining ones may be classified as follows :—

(a)

In 1904 Mr. C. Salemann translated in the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg a leaf discovered near Turfan written both in Chinese and in Syriac characters of about the ninth century. The Syriac fragment is important because it refers to some other works of the Manichæans which are lost in our days.

(b)

The most important publication in the field of knowledge with which we are dealing is undoubtedly F. W. K. Müller's work entitled "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan" in the *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy of 1904, pp. 1-117, the first part of which was published eight years later in the same series, and is referred to above under C (e).

Specially illuminating is the story of the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus as narrated in the fragments edited on pp. 34-37, in which the proper names found in the Gospels are given in their Syriac form. Attention should also be drawn to the Manichæan *Sanctus* of pp. 70-73 where the word for "holy" is the Syriac *Ḳdhōsh* contracted from *Ḳudhsha*,¹ On p. 94 Jesus is spoken of under the Syriac formula of "Bar Maryam" *the Son of Mary*. This formula is repeated in every verse of the above *Sōghitha* of Dominical Festivals in the Nestorian liturgical books, beginning "the Son of Mary is born to us."²

¹ In a document on p. 87 the word *Turan* is used of the Turks. If the date assigned to these documents is correct the Soghdian fragment would contain one of the oldest mentions so far made of the Turks under the appellation *Turanians*.

² In Syr. MS. marked Mingana 129, recently brought from the East, this *Sōghitha* is attributed also to Khāmis, the well-known Nestorian hymn-writer.

We cannot here refrain from quoting some passages referring to the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus. The fragment that contains them is unfortunately very defective ; we will indicate its lacunæ by means of three dots. Its title is "An extract on the Crucifixion" and its text begins with the words "if in truth He is the Son of God," and continues :—¹

"And Pilate answered 'I am innocent of the blood of this Son of God.' Then the officers and soldiers received from Pilate the following order : 'Keep this commandment secret. . . .' He shows that on a Sunday at the first crow of the cock, Maryam, Shalom and (Arsāniyah) came with other women and brought perfumes of nard. Nearing the grave they . . . see the splendour. . . . As did Maryam, Shalom and Arsaniyah (sic) when the angels said to them, 'Seek not the living among the dead.' Think of the words of Jesus addressed to you in Galilee, 'they will deliver Me and crucify Me, and on the third day I shall rise from the dead.' Go to Galilee and communicate this news to Simon and the others."

Müller (*ibid.* p. 109) believes that this narrative agrees with the apocryphal Gospel of Peter ; this may be true of the first part of it, but certainly not of the second part ; further the Gospel of Peter has never had any influence on the Nestorian Community, and was probably unknown even on the eastern banks of the Tigris. We believe therefore that the above extracts represent a Nestorian Christian composition clumsily quoted in a Manichæan work. What would lend a colour of plausibility to this view is the form and pronunciation of the proper names, which have a clear and distinct Nestorian savour.

Müller² has also given us the translation of an interesting and original hymn-book of the Manichees. Some hymns in the collection are decidedly under Christian influence, and "Jesus the Messiah," in Syr. *Ishō' Mshāḥa*, used in them is an expression which could not have been known except through that influence :—

"We wish to celebrate Thee O Jesus, the Messiah. . . . We wish to praise Thee O blessed Spirit. . . . We wish to extoll Thee, O High God. . . . I am the Spirit that lives."

In a fragment discovered in 1905 at Bulayik, north of Turfan,

¹ Müller *Handschriften Rest.*, pp. 34-36.

² *Ein doppelblatt aus einem Manich. Hymnenbuch*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy, 1913, p. 28.

occurs the name *Zawtai* for Zebedee, the father of the Evangelist John. Now the letter B is not softened into "V" and then changed in pronunciation into "W" except among the East Syrians or Nestorians¹ with whom the word under consideration is read as *Zawdai*:—

"The eighteenth oracle—it is a good one. Thus speaks *Zawtai*² the Apostle: "O Son of Man, you resemble the cow that from far lowed to her straying calf. As this young calf heard the voice of his mother and ran quickly to her, and in this way escaped injury, so also yours . . . which from far . . . rapidly with great joy."

"The nineteenth oracle—it is a bad one. Thus speaks Luke the Apostle: "O Son of Man, wash your hand. Do not have any fear before evil. Have pure thoughts. The love that you conceive for God, realise it openly."³

E.

CENTRAL ASIAN ALPHABETS.

We need not dwell here on the well-known fact that the Syriac characters as used by the Nestorians gave rise to many Central Asian and Far Eastern alphabets such as the Mongolian, the Manchu, and the Soghdian. The existing characters of the two former groups of languages are lineal descendants of the original Uighurian forms which were certainly derived from the Nestorian Syriac characters, under the influence of the civilised Christian community of Uighuria.

F.

MISCELLANIES.

(a)

In a private family at Mosul, in North Mesopotamia, I saw an iron cross of a fairly large size with inscriptions in Syriac and in Chinese.

¹ See my *Syriac Grammar: Clef de la Langue Araméenne*, No. 3.

² There is no question here of the problematical disciple *Zabdai* as *Alfaric* (*ibid.* ii. 180) believes, but, as the name of Luke suggests in the next oracle, *Zabdai* designates here the Apostle John the Evangelist. The word *Bar* "Son of" has been omitted, as it is often done by the copyists; and the Eastern habit of calling the son by the name of his father or *vice versa* is too well known to need explanation.

³ Von Le Coq, *Ein Christliches . . . Manuskriptfragment* in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy, 1909, pp. 1202, 1205-1208. The fragment has unfortunately many lacunæ.

The Syriac words read : *Ṣlība zkhā*, "Crux vicit" (the cross has conquered), but I was not able to read the Chinese characters which occupied an even shorter space. The cross may have been imported from China by a Nestorian missionary, or a Christian Chinese warrior in the Mongol army.

(b)

There are coins of the Mongolian Il-Khāns, called "coins of the cross," which bear the Christian legend, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God." For the dirham coins of the Emperor Abāka which have this legend, see *Journal Asiatique*, 1896 (9th series), vii. 514, and for some coins of the Emperor Arghūn, which also bear this Christian legend (see *ibid.* 1896, viii. 333). The respect in which even the non-Christian Mongol Kings, and Khans, held the Nestorians is best illustrated by the fact that they used to take off their headgear and genuflect before their Patriarch (*ibid.* xiii. 1881, the Jan. number).

(c)

The influence which the Nestorian Christians exercised on the Turks, even on those among them who were Mohammedans, may be emphasised by the fact that about A.D. 1200 Sulaiman of Bāḳirghān, in the Khānate of Khiva, composed in Turki, or the Eastern Turkish dialect, a poem on the death of the Virgin, the contents of which were inspired by Nestorian writings on the same subject (cf. *Congrès des Orientalistes d'Alger*, 3rd part, 1907, pp. 28 sq.).

(d)

Finally, we will mention here the fact that a great Nestorian writer, the author of the *Gannath Bussāmē*, was towards the end of the twelfth century entrusted with the exposition of the Christian doctrine and the interpretation of Church Lectionaries of the Old and New Testaments to the numerous Christian Turks and Mongols inhabiting Persia and Mesopotamia, and he was for that called "The Interpreter of the Turks" *par excellence*.

For further details on Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East in the Middle Ages, from Chinese and Muslim sources, which do not constitute a part of our enquiry, we recommend the following works : W. Barthold's Monograph *Christentums in Mittel Asien*,

1901; Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither* (Hakluyt Society), vols. i.-iv., 1915-1916; Cordier, *Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie sous les Mongols*, Leiden, 1918; Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale* (in T'oung-Pao, 1914).

II.

We give in the following pages the translation of a Syriac document attributed to Akhsnāya, or the famous monophysite Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbug, who died in Gangra of Paphlagonia in A.D. 523. He is one of the most eminent writers of Syriac, and to theological students he is better known as the author of the Philoxenian Version of the Bible. His life in a more or less accurate form can be found in almost all the books of reference, but the present writer believes that he was the last to discuss in 1920 some aspects of his life and of his Biblical work.¹

The present document is two-fold. More than half of it deals with the Christian heresies that preceded the author's time. Very briefly he gives their main Christological features and sketches the history of the Councils who condemned them. The second part of the document outlines the introduction of Christianity among the Turks, and possesses by the freshness of its contents an importance which could not be paralleled by anything said in the first part. The Christian heresies mentioned in the first part are those of Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, Arius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Macedonius, Nestorius, and Eutyches. A larger space is naturally devoted to the last heretic but one and to Theodore of Mopsuestia, and his hatred for both of them knows no bounds; were they not the Nestorians who had driven him out of Garamea, his native country, and applied to him the epithet of the "accursed wolf?"² Our modern civilisation has at least done something good: it has in some countries of Europe begun to sweep away that fanatical spirit whereby a man would persecute, or maim, or even kill a human being for his religious beliefs, and think that he was offering a sacrifice to God. The true spirit of Christ was sadly deficient in the fifth and sixth centuries, and this

¹ *A New Document on Philoxenus of Hierapolis, Expositor*, 1920, pp. 149-160.

² Bābai the Great, quoted in our *Narsai Homiliae et Carmina*, vol. i. p. 6 of the introduction.

deficiency explains the stringency of the style used by many ecclesiastical writers of the time, including Philoxenus.

We give the translation of this part of the document without any comment. Its merits and demerits can be judged by every theologian interested in Church history and in the Christological discussions which—in the centuries where kings were effectively dabbling in religion—rent asunder the coherent body of the Christian community. The author, living far from the scene of events, has fallen into some slight chronological errors, and presented the philosophical aspect of the questions in a light which is somewhat foreign to our upbringing. We write no corrective notes to statements which can easily be verified by any intelligent reader, in order to reserve our space to the second part of the document which is of particular interest for the history of the spread of Christianity beyond the Oxus.

One of the strongest reasons urged by some critics against the authenticity of the first part of the letter which deals with Christian heresies, and which is already known from the British Museum MSS. spoken of below, is the glaring anachronism which in the narrative makes Theodore of Mopsuestia a contemporary and fellow student of Nestorius. The difficulty, however, has been explained by Nau,¹ who, after his publication of a summary of Baršalibi's work against the Nestorians, was able to show that the Theodore of the present document is a deliberate error on the part of the copyist for Theodoret of Cyrus. To follow up his intentional falsification the scribe had also the audacity of changing Cyrus into Mopsuestia, and in converting in one place the name of the Emperor Theodosius into that of Honorius. That the forefathers of Nestorius were of Persian extraction, as presented in the present Jacobite document, may be gathered from the fact that the Nestorians also are of the same opinion. The lexicographer, Bar 'Ali,² expressly states that Atak is the "name of the village of Addai, grandfather of Nestorius." Where Nestorians and Jacobites agree we may be fairly certain that we are treading on firm ground. Finally, we must also add that the letter to Abū 'Afr is mentioned among the authentic works of Philoxenus by the author of his life which we published in 1920.³

¹ *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1909, p. 424 sq., cf. *ibid.* p. 301 sq.

² Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i. 422 (the word *Kashshisha* is here to be understood in the sense of "grandfather," and not that of "presbyter").

³ *Expositor*, 1920, p. 154.

We need not dwell on the subject of the authenticity of the document. We simply cannot make ourselves believe that it emanates from Philoxenus, at least not from the Philoxenus whom we so well know by almost innumerable works on theological and mystical sciences. The most charitable hypothesis that we may put forward in this connection is that if the precious document is in any way connected with him, he must have written it in his youth, and in this case it would represent the first intellectual élan of an exuberant genius before attaining its full-fledged mental acumen.

The document does not lose much of its value by not having been written by Philoxenus. All the works attributed to a certain Father of the Church may not have been actually written by him, and there are certainly treatises passing under the name of this or that Greek, Latin, or Syriac Father which are as far from having emanated from him as the present document from Philoxenus, but their internal value is in no way impaired by this fact. To add a kind of a nominal value to an anonymous tract, a copyist was in some cases tempted to ascribe it to a well-known author; in some other cases a young and obscure writer, wishing to draw attention to a subject to which he attached special importance, would deliberately use the name of a highly respected and widely known man in order to obtain better reading. It is from the rank of these pious or impious forgers that the list of the apocryphal literature found in the historical archives of almost every religious and political community, has been unduly swollen.

Although apparently not by Philoxenus the document is very ancient; the MS. Add. 14529¹ of the British Museum, ascribed by Wright to the seventh or eighth Christian century, contains that section of it which deals with Nestorius and Eutyches, and as such it has been edited by P. Martin in his *Introductio practica ad studium linguae Arameae*, 1873, and translated by J. Tixeront in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1903, 623-630.² Short fragments of this very section of the text are also to be seen in Brit. Mus. Add. 17193 and 17134 (pp. 338 and 998 in Wright's Catalogue). The text, however, of the British Museum MS. contains deep variants and many omissions when compared with that which we are translating in the present study. It

¹ Wright's *Catalogue*, ii. 917-918.

² Cf. A. Vaschalde, *Three Letters*, 1902, p. 30.

is not our intention to dwell on the explanation of the verbal differences which separate the two recensions.

The document is in form of a letter addressed to Abū 'Afr, military Governor of Hīrah. The British Museum MS. calls him Abu Naphīr, and our MS. Abu (gen. Abi) 'Afr. The reading of our MS. has unexpectedly been confirmed by that interesting and important Syriac work dealing with the Christian martyrs of the Yaman, and entitled *Book of the Himyarites*, which has been lately unearthed and so ably edited by the Swedish scholar A. Moberg.¹ The name Abu 'Afr clearly occurs in this work as an Arabic proper name on fol. 24^b. In the life of Philoxenus that we published in 1920 the name occurs as Abu Ḥafr.² The Muslim tradition,³ however, calls him *Abu Ya'fur*, and gives his genealogy as b. 'Alḳamah, b. Mālīk, b. 'Adī, b. Dhumail, b. Thaur, b. Asas, b. Rubay, b. Numārah, b. Lakhm. According to the Arab historians (*ibid.*) he succeeded Nu'mān b. Aswad in the government of Hīrah and reigned three years. The Syriac *Abi 'Afr* of the document can also be read as *Ab Ya'fur* in conformity with Arab sources.

Our present study is based on the Syriac MS. 59 of the John Rylands Library (ff. 99^a-107^b), which to our knowledge is the only one that contains in full the letter of Philoxenus to Abū 'Afr; it is dated 29th January, 1909, but the deacon Matti, the copyist, assured us verbally, when we met him last year in the East, that he had transcribed it from a vellum MS. found in Ṭur 'Abdīn, which he would ascribe at the latest to the eleventh century. It formerly constituted a part of the writer's collection of Syriac MSS. where it was numbered: Mingana 9.

The section dealing with the Turks to which the main part of our study is devoted evidently emanates from a zealous Jacobite who was eager to show that his Church also, and especially his Patriarchate of Antioch, had some share in the conversion of the Turks, and while the Christian peoples beyond the Oxus swore allegiance to the Nestorian Patriarch of Ctesiphon, and technically belonged to his Nestorian community, they did so *bonâ fide* and by force of circumstances,

¹ *The Book of the Himyarites . . . A hitherto unknown Syriac work*, Leipzig and Lund, 1924.

² *Expositor*, 1920, p. 154.

³ Tabari, *Annales*, I, 2, 900; Ibn Duraid, p. 266; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i. 154 (edit. Bulāḳ).

ultimately due to the long distance that separated them from the monophysite Patriarch of Antioch. This is of course an *ex-parte* statement which should be received with great caution. There are no grounds whatever for denying the incontrovertible fact that the glory of converting the peoples of Central Asia and of the Far East to the Gospel of Christ, and the merit of implanting among them the Western civilisation, based on the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, belong entirely to the untiring zeal and the marvellous spiritual activities of the Nestorian Church, which is by far the greatest missionary Church that the world has ever produced. Even we, hard critics and unprejudiced inquirers, who are writing centuries after the events, cannot but marvel at the love of God, of man, and of duty, which animated those unassuming disciples of Christ, true pupils of their Apostles Addai and Thomas, who in utter disregard of all discomforts of the body, and in the teeth of the strong opposition and the terrible vengeance of the wizards of Shamanism and the mobeds of Zoroastrianism, literally explored all the corners of the Eastern globe in order to sow in them the seed of what they firmly believed to be the true religion of God. All glory to them !

There are in the document some proper names which are very difficult to identify. They belong to the Eastern section of the Central Asian peoples. Four of these names are those of the Christian kings whom the author is mentioning :¹ Gawirk, Gürk, Tasahz, and Langu. The precise country in which they lived was called Sericon ; the border town of this country was called Ƙaragūr[am], and the name of its King was Idikūt. Five days' journey separated Ƙaragūr[am] from the habitat of the Christian Turks. We have done our best to illustrate the above names in the footnotes from Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Mongolian sources, but we were not able to identify some of them with any degree of probability in the literatures of these languages. Their exact identification may possibly be effected through Chinese sources, but these we could not cite with authority as we do not know any Chinese at all.

We have also ventured to add some footnotes to illustrate or explain the historical data of the document. From these notes the reader will be able to form an independent judgment on the value to

¹ The vowels of all the names are uncertain.

be attached to the information imparted by the author. Nearly all the historical data furnished by him have, on verification, proved genuine and correct in every important detail, but the confidence with which the document thus inspires us will be strengthened by the knowledge that all the names of kings and towns mentioned in it are found in Chinese sources which we were unfortunately unable to consult at first hand.

This second part of the document which concerns the Christian Turks seems to be only loosely attached to the first part which deals with Christian heresies, and it is possible that it was pieced together with it by an ancient copyist from a totally different MS. Indeed if we join the sentence of p. 360 : "a great number of people deviated from the path of truth and became Nestorians, on account of the severity of the persecution," with that of p. 366 : "the occasion of this arose at the time when persecution was aflame against the Christians of the countries of the Persians at the hand of the accursed Baršauli of Nisibin," we will have a somewhat homogeneous and continuous composition, and all the text written between the two phrases will appear as an interpolation. The argument, however, should not be unduly pressed because the same process might with almost equal success be applied to the beginning of the history of Nestorius as compared with the way in which the previous heresies of Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, Arius, and Macedonius are introduced.

Further, the opinion that the text of all the document dealing with the Christian Turks is taken from a completely different MS. seems to be borne out by the following fact. On p. 362 occurs the phrase : "the see of their Bishop is in the pagan town which we have mentioned *above*." Now no Turkish town of any kind is mentioned in the pages that precede this sentence. It seems, therefore, plausible that this part of the document was transcribed by a copyist from another MS. and inserted in the present document purporting to be written by Philoxenus on the Christian heresies that preceded him, because the name of the Turkish town must have been mentioned in the previous part of the text which has been omitted by the copyist.

We must finally state here that this opinion clears up the difficulty arising out of the *mise en scène* of the present state of the document. Indeed, from its text as it stands before us, it would be difficult to understand what induced Philoxenus to apprise a military Governor of

Hirah of the introduction of Christianity among the Turks. What interest had Hirah with the Turks in the fifth Christian century? And why should Philoxenus have spoken of the Turks at all in a letter on Christian heresies?

We have seen in the first half of the document that the copyist in order to cover up, or rather to follow up the error of his confusion of Theodore with Theodoret was compelled to change Cyrus into Mopsuestia, and Theodosius into Honorius. The same process of deliberate falsifications seems to have been adopted in the second part. The work is introduced by the entrance into the scene, on the one hand, of the Jacobite Philoxenus and Abu 'Afr, and on the other of the Nestorian Acacius and Baršauma. All these are contemporaries and constitute an integral part of the drama. Within the frame assigned to them all the other *dramatis personæ* are more or less loosely introduced, including the Christian Turks.

The scene of the arrival of these Turks is placed in the fifth century, during the Patriarchate of Acacius. This is possible but not probable, because we believe that the document was composed by a Jacobite writer after the Arab invasion. In it occurs the Arabic word *salm* which we consider to be a copyist's error for *sanim* which means "a big humped camel." In it also there is mention of circumcision, which, more probably, refers to Muslims. The Christian Turks, it is said, killed any one they saw circumcised like pagans. The adherents of Christianity could not possibly have been in the fifth century so numerous and powerful in Central Asia as to kill any pagan with whom they happened to meet; further, we have no reason for supposing that circumcision was ever practised by any important section of the pagan Turks and Tartars. The pagans spoken of in the document can in our judgment refer only to Muslims.

The precise year in which the document was written in the time of the Arab Empire will probably never be determined. The date of the MS. is according to Shammas Matti—who knows a great deal about Syriac MSS. and who has copied more of them than any other man living or dead—at the latest about the first half of the eleventh century, say 1040. We must, therefore, fix for the composition of the document on a date within the limits of A.D. 680-1000. This being the case we believe as a matter of opinion that the document was composed about 730-790 by a Jacobite writer living in Baghdad.

The precise, valuable, and on the whole accurate information that he furnishes concerning the Turks and Tartars, their country and their habits, may have been taken orally by him from a Turkish deputation that must have waited upon a Nestorian Patriarch (see above pp. 304 and 306) for the ordination of a Metropolitan to their country.

This opinion is only provisional and will naturally be subject to revision upon the right identification of the proper names mentioned in the document ; but apart from its intrinsic plausibility it can also safeguard the view of those scholars who, relying on the date of the British Museum MS., which according to Wright is not later, but rather earlier, than the eighth century, would prefer to regard all the document as one indivisible whole. About the antiquity of the document from the use of the archaic geographical term *Sericon* see pp. 326-327.

The Syrian author of the document had acquired from this supposed Christian Turkish mission or from other sources unknown to us, some knowledge of the history of Turkestan and China, because he has actually placed the scene of his drama at the end of the fifth century and at the beginning of the sixth, i.e. at a time corresponding with A.D. 455 and 513, in which no less than ten diplomatic missions are recorded as passing between Northern China and Persia. See Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument*, pp. 39-47, etc. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (passim), and the very well-known works of Chavannes. On the other hand the eighth century is also conspicuous by such missions ; from Hirth's and Chavannes' works we gather that for the first half of this century the following missions took place between Western and Eastern Asia, in 701, 719, 732, and 742.

Against the indications of the MSS. which ascribe the document to Philoxenus we have ventured to argue in favour of the probability of the opinion that it was written after the Arab invasion. On the other hand we must admit that the hypothesis which we have set forth as to the double character of the document is not so well founded and should on no account be considered more than possible, because it is equally plausible that the document as we have it in its complete form in our MS. and in its discontinuous and truncated shape in the British Museum MSS. may have been written in its totality by one author. All this is fairly clear. Somewhat less clear is the precise year or

decade in which the document saw the light. Here on grounds both extrinsic and intrinsic we have adhered to the view that its probable date was the eighth century, or more precisely a date between 730 and 790, that is to say the time in which the Nestorian Church seems to have displayed special energy in its foreign missions.

We have already avowed our complete ignorance of Chinese language and literature, but this should not impede us from appealing to at least two of those Chinese scholars who have spoken of the Tartars from exclusively Chinese sources in the hope of corroborating some historical points to which we drew attention above.

On p. 347 we gave the names of the Christian kings mentioned in the document. Among them is one whose name is in consonants TASHZ and another LNGU. In E. H. Parker's *A Thousand Years of the Tartars* (p. 271), we find an account of a Turkish general called Tsz-i who in 756 was assisted by Maryenchō against the rebel Amroshar. The latter, after conducting the war against the Cathayans, as China's representative, in the end rebelled against his imperial master. Parker adds that this "celebrated general Tsz-i" is believed to have been a Nestorian Christian. In Saeki's *The Nestorian Monument in China* (p. 55) he is described as a "believer in the Nestorian religion." He lived A.D. 697-781, just within the chronological limits prescribed by our document.

The above identification seems to be plausible and should, I believe, be considered as probable. For the other Christian kings we find less convincing evidence in Chinese literature. So far as LNGU is concerned were it not for reasons of chronology we might have compared him with Li-Yüan,¹ whose father had married a Nestorian Christian lady of the Duku family. A short time after his death, or in 635, the famous Nestorian missionary Olopen² arrived in China. In this time the grandson of the Christian lady, who had become Emperor, issued an edict in favour of Christianity.

For GWRK and GRK, the other two Christian kings mentioned in the document, we may compare Kuang (the interchange between *n*

¹ Parker (*ibid.*), p. 194, and Saeki (*ibid.*), pp. 204-208.

² Olopen or Alopen has been conjectured to represent any of the following Syriac words: *Rabban* "our master" (title of a monk), or *Yahb-Alāha*, a proper name meaning "Deo-datus," or *Abraham*. See Saeki, *ibid.* pp. 204-207.

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and γ is fairly common), the son of the Emperor Hsuan-Tsung, who in 755 together with Jacob, the son of the Christian king of the Christian Uighurs, and the above general Tsz-i, defended the Emperor against the rebellion of An-Lu-shan (Saeki, *ibid.*), p. 231).

Having identified with some degree of probability one of the four Christian Turkish kings mentioned in the document, we will now venture to advance a step further and try to clear up the question of their number. On pp. 316-317 we have endeavoured to show that there were four powerful confederacies of Turco-Tartar tribes who had to a great extent adopted Christianity: the Keraites, the Uighurs, the Naimans, and the Merkites. Is it possible to suppose that each one of the above kings was the Khākān of one of these tribes? If the author is treating of the subject chronologically, as he appears to be doing, so that all his four Christian kings are to be considered as more or less contemporaries, this hypothesis would at least have the advantage of solving those difficulties of his document which fall under the domain of history. If the Christianity of the Merkites comes to be considered not thoroughly established we would propose, in order to complete the number four, the Uriyān-gakit spoken of on p. 337.

In the ensuing pages we give the translation of all the document as found in the MS. and the text of that part of it only which deals with the Christian Turks.

III.

Translation.

The letter of Mar Philoxenus of Mabbūg sent by him to Abi 'Afr, military Governor of Hirta of Nu'mān, in which is contained the story of the accursed and anathematised Nestorius.

To the one who is noble, pure, and God loving, like Abraham; to the one who gives his wealth in alms to the poor, like Job; to the one who delivers the lambs bought with the blood of Christ from the heresy of the Nestorians which is a second Jezebel, like Obadiah: Abi 'Afr, the military Governor of Hirta of Nu'mān; from Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbūg, many greetings in God Jesus Christ.

Because you asked me in your letter to inform you of what has been established in the Church of the Greeks by the holy Doctors, I write you what follows and bring to your notice the fact that the holy

Fathers gathered together from time to time and threw away false heresies from the Church of God.

In the days of the Emperor Hadrian Sabellius rose against the Church of God, and he blasphemed and said that there was only one person in the Trinity, and because of that Mary was the mother of the Trinity, and passion, death and crucifixion belonged to the Trinity, and that the Body and the Blood which we receive from the altar were of the Trinity. Forty-three Bishops assembled in Ancyra of Galatia, and anathematised from the Church of God the feeble-minded Sabellius because he did not wish to recant his impiety.

In the days of the Emperor Valerianus Paul of Samosata rose against the Church of God, and called the living Son of God a just man only, like one of those just men that were in the world before Him. The Bishops gathered together at Antioch and anathematised Paul of Samosata, and threw him away from the Church of God because he did not wish to recant.

In the days of the victorious Emperor Constantine the accursed serpent Arius rose against the Church of God, and called the Son of God a creature. Three hundred and eighteen Fathers congregated in Nicæa and anathematised Arius and drove him out of the Church of God, because he did not desist from his impiety. These holy Fathers established the true faith and laid down various Canons.

In the days of Constantine the younger¹ Eusebius of Cæsarea rose against the Church of God, and he foolishly pretended that the Son of God was younger than His Father. Sixty Bishops assembled in Rome in order to drive Eusebius out of the Church of God, and they rose and anathematised his opinion. He recanted the false opinions whereby he had blasphemed against the living Son of God, showed penitence, and subscribed to the true doctrines; whereupon the Orthodox Fathers received him into the holy Church of the true God.

In the days of Theodosius the Great Macedonius rose against the Church of God, and called the Holy Spirit a creature, and a hundred and fifty Bishops assembled in Constantinople, the Metropolis, and anathematised Macedonius, because he did not wish to turn away from the false opinions that he was holding.

And there was a man called Addai, from the town of Germanicia,

¹ The Syrians call by this name the Emperor Constantius.

which is Mar'ash. He was (originally) from Atak, a village situated in the proximity of the town of Dara, and the name of his wife was 'Amalka. It happened that this Addai quarrelled with a pregnant woman from the above village of Atak, and he lifted his hand and struck her; this immediately caused the abortion of a boy, who died; and the mother also was brought near her death. Then Addai rose forthwith and left his village, and took his wife and fled to the country of the Şuphananians, which is the country of Hataka. They remained there a short time, then they quitted it, and went and lived in the town of Samosata in which they took domicile. Two boys were born to them in this town; they called the first Ba'ilshmin,¹ and the second Abi'ashūm. After a while Addai and his wife died and they were buried in the same town of Samosata.

After the death of their parents, Addai and his wife, the boys rose and went to Germanicia which is Mar'ash, where they lived and married. A boy was born to Ba'ilshmin, and he called him Theodore, while Abi'ashūm gave the name of Nestorius to a son that he had. When the boys grew up the parents sent them to school to learn Greek, and they thoroughly mastered this language.

Then both of them rose and went and entered Athens, the city of philosophers, in order to learn philosophy. Now the sons of the nobles of the city of Constantinople were their fellow-students there, and these praised and extolled the wisdom and the philosophy of Theodore and Nestorius before the Emperor Honorius Cesar, who ordered both of them to repair to Antioch in order to meet the Patriarch and be ordained Bishops: Nestorius to Constantinople, and Theodore to Mopsuestia. When they were ordained Bishops and each went to his see then both of them began to corrupt the true doctrine preached to us by Prophets, Apostles, and Fathers, and in their homilies they subtly divided the Only Begotten Son of God into two natures.

In the seven Discourses that Theodore sent to Nestorius and Nestorius to Theodore, the latter wrote that Jesus Christ was a man created in Mary, the Holy Virgin, by the will of the Holy Trinity, as Adam was created at the beginning from earth without human intercourse; and because God the Word dwelt in Him from time to

¹ The Syriac word for *Jupiter*; lit. "the Master of Heavens."

time as if in a holy prophet, we must resort to distinctions (in Him) and introduce different attributes for each nature, in a way that conception, birth, baptism and all the other points of the Dispensation should belong to the man who was born of Mary, and that powers, miracles, wonders, and prodigies should belong to the Word God who was from time to time dwelling in Him. This is the faith of impiety which Theodore sent to Nestorius, and concerning it both were in perfect agreement.

When the believing Emperor Honorius, worthy of good memory, died, he was succeeded by Theodosius the younger, and then the two accursed and anathematised hawks, Nestorius and Theodore, began to divulge openly the falsehood of their doctrine. But when the victorious Emperor Theodosius became aware of the fact that they were both of them contradicting the tenets of the true faith, he gave orders and two hundred and twenty Bishops assembled concerning them in the town of Ephesus. And Nestorius sent to Theodore while in Mopsuestia his eighth Discourse in which he wrote :—

“O brother, go to the Council of Ephesus and anathematise me ; and be not grieved, O brother, in anathematising me before that Council, while in thy heart thou remainest steadfast in (our) belief, and thou teachest it to the children of the Church to the measure of thy capacity. Indeed ‘*anathema*’ is not of one kind only in the Holy Scripture. Our Lord testifies to this by saying ‘He who loves me keeps my commandments’ (John xiv. 15) and the Apostle Paul said : ‘He who does not love our Lord Jesus Christ let him be *anathema*’¹ (1 Cor. xvi. 22). This kind of *anathema* is spread and extended on all men, who do not keep the commandments of our Lord, as He Himself said. There is also another kind of *anathema* spoken of by the Apostle Paul : ‘Though an angel from heaven preach unto you more than we have preached unto you let him be *anathematised* by the Church’ (Gal. i. 8). From this kind of ‘*anathema*’ flee, O brother, and if possible, let it not be even spoken of with thy lips. Further, God said to the prophet Moses : ‘All the “*anathemas*” of the children of Israel shall be to Aaron and his sons’ (Lev. vi. 20 ; Numb. viii. 19) ; these ‘*anathemas*’ mean here *ex-votos* and offerings. And Jesus, son of Nūn, says thus : ‘Everything

¹ The word “*anathema*” (*hirma*) is used in the Syriac Bible in this and in all the following quotations.

there is in this town of Jericho, is "*anathema*" to the Lord,' (Josh. vi. 17) that is to say an offering to the Lord or an ex-voto. And the Apostle Paul says in another place: 'I could wish that I myself should be "*anathema*" for my brethren and kinsmen who are the children of Israel' (Rom. ix. 3). Anathematise me, therefore, O brother, in the sense in which Paul was wishing to be an offering to the children of his people, and be not grieved."

When the Council of two hundred and twenty decreed and anathematised Nestorius, Theodore also anathematised him, but in the meaning which Nestorius had shown to him. And when the Council broke up and everybody returned to his country and his place, the wretched Theodore began to introduce into the Church the teaching of Nestorius which he had previously embraced, and he wrote the hymn called "the Epiphany of the King" in which he contradicted the Church in teaching openly four persons in the Trinity. So far as the Christ is concerned he holds and believes Him to be a mere man, in saying thus: "Thy stature, O Christ, was smaller than that of the children of Jacob who sinned against the Father who elected Thee, and who kindled the wrath of the Eternal Son who dwelt in Thee, and who angered the Holy Spirit who Sanctified Thee." And again: "Blessed is God the Word who came down and put on the Christ, the second Adam, and made Him (as innocent) as a child, in the water of baptism." And again in another place: "The Holy Spirit came to-day (on Him?) because He made the young David flee (before His innocence?)."¹

It is obvious that he preached four persons in that unholy hymn called "the Epiphany of the King." He also wrote the divisions of the headings of the Psalms in order to deceive the remote Churches and detach them from the truth of their faith in order to bring them to his impure interpretation. Indeed he said to the simple-minded (among them): "My brethren, you ought to believe in Christ who taught us to glorify the Trinity;" and by his craftiness he made this (fourth) person as a crown to prayer, because at the end of it he taught them to utter the following: "Thanks to the One who opened our mouths to glorify night and day the Lord of all time, who is the nature of the Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."²

¹ This short line culled from its context is difficult to understand.

² The first words of this sentence are found in the *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, ii. 75.

We, the children of the true faith will anathematise all who have subscribed and subscribe to this impure doctrine, and will confess and glorify the Holy Trinity as One ; may it be exalted now and for ever and ever ! Amen. And we will reject all who profess the quaternity of the Emperor Valens (or Valentinian). And Theodore also was rejected from the Holy Church.

In the days of the Emperor Marcian, Eutyches rose against the Holy Church, and said that the body of the Son of God came down with Him from heaven. Five hundred and sixty seven Bishops assembled to reject Eutyches from the Church of God. When Leo of Rome heard this, he sent to them an epistle (suggesting to them) to receive Nestorius and his impure interpretations. Soon after the epistle of Leo, the accursed, the anathematised, and the impure Patriarch¹ of Rome, was read ; on hearing it the Emperor Marcian sent to them a letter intimating that all those who refused to accept all that was in the *tomos* of Leo should leave their chairs and sit on the ground ; and because they loved their chairs, they transgressed the vows with which they had bound themselves thirty-six times, and they rashly disregarded the anathemas of the Holy Fathers, and subscribed to the *tomos* of Leo. They all remained in their chairs except Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who by his own free will rose up and sat on the ground ; and because he did not subscribe to them they sent the Saint of God Mar Dioscorus to exile, and they locked him up in the town of Gangra, and in his place they promoted Proterius his syncellus, that is to say his secretary, to the see of Alexandria.

When the inhabitants of Alexandria heard what took place, they dispatched a missive to the Council of Chalcedon (addressed) to the Emperor Marcian in which they wrote : " You have done well, and we subscribe to what you have done ; " but those priests, deacons, and laymen who did not subscribe to what was decreed by the Council of Chalcedon, rose up and took Timothy, the disciple of Dioscorus, and fled to Abyssinia (*Kush*). And Proterius the syncellus, who had become Patriarch in the place of Dioscorus, his master, entered the town of Alexandria by means of secular power and tyrannic

¹In the text through the copyist's error *malika*, "Emperor." See below.

sword, and he, together with the Bishops who followed him tyrannically governed the flock of Christ, and did not recoil even before murder and the shedding of blood, so much so that this same Proterius, the syncellus, who became Patriarch, killed through Roman soldiers twenty-four thousand men, most of whom were Bishops, monks, priests and deacons.

Soon after, however, the inhabitants of Alexandria, stirred up with the zeal of God, entered his house, stoned him, killed him, dragged him out, and threw him into the sea. When the priests, the deacons, and the laymen that had fled from Alexandria with Timothy, disciple of Dioscorus, heard that the accursed syncellus was dead, they returned and implored the faithful Bishops to elect Timothy their Patriarch, because they had heard that the holy Dioscorus had died in exile in Gangra. The Bishops of Abyssinia rose then and elected Timothy their Patriarch, but he feared to go to Alexandria because it came to his knowledge that the Emperor Marcian was still alive.

When the Emperor Marcian died, and was succeeded on the throne by Leo, then Timothy rose and entered Alexandria, and sat on the throne of Dioscorus, his master. All Alexandria then flocked, subscribed, and bowed to him; and he prayed and absolved the inhabitants of Alexandria, because they showed repentance to God. Some men, however, among those priests, deacons, and laymen who had fled with Timothy to Abyssinia, did not wish to receive into their communion the inhabitants of Alexandria, and contended that all those who had subscribed in any shape or form to the Council of Chalcedon, neither priesthood nor baptism remained to them, and the Holy Spirit did not come down to bless their Sacrifice in their Churches. On receiving this news, four wretched priests, lawyers by profession (*nōmīkē*), took the Gospel and placed it on the head of the monk Isaiah, and they elected him their Bishop; from that day down to our own time, they have been called "*Isaians Acephali*."

Because your Excellency¹ wrote in your second letter and asked me concerning these *Acephali*, whether they were professing rightly or not, I wrote and narrated to you their story, as I learned it from the books of the Holy Fathers. And the Holy Council of the three hundred and eighteen² has decreed that if any one belonging to (the

¹ I.e. Abu 'Afr.

² I.e. of Nicæa.

heresy of) Paul of Samosata returns from his error and comes to the true faith, let him first be baptised and afterwards he may partake of the Eucharist with the children of the Holy Church. The reason for which the holy Council published this decree concerning the Eucharist is that (the followers of Paul of Samosata) had twisted the truth, and openly taught then—as they do till now—their false teaching. The Apostle Paul bears witness to this by saying : “ If the root be holy, the branches also are holy ” (Rom. xi. 16), and these are the baptism and the ordination of the Chalcedonians.

If one asserts by mistake and says that among them there were holy, pious, and just men, and because of this all should not be anathematised, let such a one remember the story of Lot, and let him see, examine, and consider that although he was the only just man found in all Sodom, God did not leave him to perish with the wicked and perverse Sodomites, but took him out towards the mountain. What happened in Sodom happened also in Chalcedon in which the unholy Council was held, and in which (the Bishops) trod on the anathemas of the Holy Fathers ; one man, however, was saved in it : the holy Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who shook off their dust from him and confessed and said : “ I shall never have a share and participation of any kind with you.” In this way also the Egyptian monks assembled and anathematised the Council of Chalcedon, and they consumed it with the fire of their anathemas so that it should never bear any fruits.

The wife of Lot left Sodom while her heart was in it ; and God forgave her in order that she may repent ; but when she persisted with stubbornness in her bad inclinations, she turned and looked back with a perverse desire, and instantly the severe punishment of God overtook her, and she became a pillar of salt. If because she turned and looked back she became a pillar of salt, to what severe punishment and perdition will come those who subscribe to the wicked and perverse Council of Chalcedon ? And those who openly proclaim the name of one of those blasphemers who are covered with anathemas and curses, are to be called not only blasphemers but also persecutors of God.

When Paul used formerly to persecute and fight the churches of God, it was not said of him that he persecuted men, but God said to him : “ Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? And he answered and said, ‘ Who art thou, Lord ? ’ I know not. And God said in a voice

from heaven, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest.'” (Acts ix. 4-5). It is, however, clear that Paul was persecuting the Apostles and not God. He who, therefore, persecutes the saints, persecutes God. When the priest prays on the altar, the Holy Spirit comes down and sanctifies the mysteries, and changes them into the body and the blood of God ; the contrary would be the case if the name of one of those blasphemers of the unholy, wicked, and perverse Council of Chalcedon, was invoked.

A great number of people deviated from the path of truth, and became Nestorians, on account of the severity of the persecution and oppression. And the Nestorians had for head an ungodly Catholicos, called Akāk, from whose time dates the Nestorian Catholicate in Ctesiphon.¹ And there had been in Ctesiphon another wicked man, a certain Papa, who also from fear of the sword became pagan and deviated from the truth.²

At that time some men from the Turks³ who are Christians came to Ctesiphon from the remote countries in order to elect a Metropolitan for themselves, and have him ordained, as was their wont ; because it

¹ Akāk (Acacius) was Patriarch or Catholicos of the Eastern Church from 485 to 496. He was, as the author states, the first Nestorian Patriarch. Cf. Labourt, *Le Christianisme*, p. 145 sq.

² Papa was Patriarch from about A.D. 290 to 328. He was the first Catholicos in the series of the Patriarchs of the East after the Council of Nicæa. The author writes of him that he turned pagan, but this is a biased Jacobite judgment upon the trouble that he had with some Bishops of the Persian Empire who refused to acknowledge his jurisdiction based on the innovation of his elevation to the Patriarchate through the intermediary of Constantine and the Bishops of the Roman Empire. The best and earliest account of him is undoubtedly that of Mshiha-Zkha in my *Sources Syriacques*, i. pp. 119-123, where I have also analysed in the footnotes all the previously known sources.

³ According to Rockhill (*in op. supra laud.*, p. 109) the earliest mention of the “Turks” is found in the *Chou shu* (A.D. 557-581). In the Syriac chronicle which we quoted above (p. 305), and which was written not later than 680, the word Turkāyē, “Turks,” occurs as a well-known name. Further, according to *Thesaurus Syr.* (col. 1453), the name is used in *Kal.* and *Dimn.* of Būd, who died not much later than A.D. 570. The Syriac sources seem to be earlier than the Chinese ones in the use of the name. See also the history of the Syriac writer John of Ephesus who died in 586 (3rd part, book vi. ch. vi. and xxiii. etc.), where the name appears as *Turkis*. Many Syriac authors call the Turks “Huns” or “Sons of Magog”.

was in Ctesiphon that the consecration of their Metropolitans used to take place. Each one of their countries had one Metropolitan, after the ordination of whom they repaired to their land. And the above Papa of Ctesiphon used to receive ordination from (the Patriarch) of Antioch. And at that time when those Christian Turks came to receive ordination according to their habit, they discovered that Aḳāḳ was not under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, but that he had rebelled against him and was a heretic ; thereupon they became angry with him, refused to receive ordination from him, and returned to their country in great grief.

After a time they were in great distress, because they had no Metropolitan, and so they came back and repaired as far as Ctesiphon, having it meantime in their mind to reach Antioch and have an interview with the Patriarch. On the score of the length of the journey, however, and because of strifes, conflicts, and wars, that raged at that time between Powers, they found themselves unable to proceed to Antioch, but remained five years in Ctesiphon, in the hope that there would be peace and the roads would be open again for traffic. At the end they lost heart and courage, and not willing to return to their country empty handed as on the first occasion, and noticing that it was too late in the season to dally, they went to Aḳāḳ, the Catholicos of the Nestorians, and discussed with him the reason of his revolt against the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch.

Then the heretic Aḳāḳ, in conjunction with those who followed his perverse opinions, deceived with their cunning those simple and unsophisticated folk and answered them : " It is not on account of faith that we have separated ourselves from the Patriarch of Antioch and raised a Catholicos, but it is because of the peril to all the Christians of the East,—that will ensue from a visit to Antioch, which will be interpreted as an act of disloyalty to the temporal rulers,—that we do not go there.¹ Further, we established a Catholicos for ourselves on

¹ The author is here repeating the gist of the Oriental tradition to the effect that the Catholicos of the East was ordained and given spiritual jurisdiction by the Patriarch of Antioch. Every time, tradition tells us, that a Patriarch was elected in the East prior to the spread of Nestorianism, he had to repair to Antioch for the purpose above mentioned. It was only through lack of safety in the roads due to political troubles between the Persian and the Byzantine empires, that the Patriarch of Antioch relaxed his hold of his eastern colleague (Māri, *loc. cit.* p. 5 ; 'Amr, *loc. cit.* p. 4 ; Barhebraeus,

account of wars, conflicts, and strifes that are raging in our countries ; and because we did that we live now in peace and security." By such crooked words those simple and unsophisticated folk were deceived, and received ordination from the Nestorians, and they were given a Metropolitan from the Nestorians by false pretences, while they were unaware of their deception, and of the falsehood of their abominable beliefs. And this habit is handed down to them to the present day, because any time their Bishop dies they come to the Nestorians, and take another one to replace him from Ctesiphon. The see (of their Bishop ?) is in the pagan town which we have mentioned above,¹ and it is he who ordains for them priests and deacons.

These Christian Turks eat meat and drink milk. They do not put any difference between lawful and unlawful food, but eat everything in good and pure conscience. By such acts they are believed by outsiders to be unclean, while in reality they are not. All their habits are clean, and their beliefs are orthodox and true like our own. Although they receive their ordination from the Nestorians, they do it *bonâ fide*, while unaware of their guile, falsehood, and wickedness. They believe in one glorious nature in the Holy Trinity, and like us they hold to three adorable Persons, and profess that the Divine

Chron. Eccl., ii. 26 ; Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 51 sq.). There seems to be some truth in this legend, about which, however, Mshîha-Zkha knows nothing at all. The most ancient Syriac writer who does make mention of it is John of Phenek who was writing about 690 (pp. 123-124 of the text ; in vol. ii. of our *Sources Syriacques*) and it is somewhat astonishing that no ecclesiastical historian who wrote on the subject has noticed it since it was published in 1908. Here is a translation of the whole passage referring to the legend, which places the incident about the beginning of the reign of Sapor II. (309-379) : " At a time preceding this the rights of the Patriarchal see of Syria were transferred to the Church of Kōkê (Ctesiphon) in the East, on account of the enmity existing between the Empires of the East and of the West, which were at war every day. Many Bishops were killed when repairing from here to there, and from there to here, on account of the remoteness of the Patriarch. They accused them of being spies, while in reality they did it because of their thirst for the blood of the saints. And the Father-Bishops, in grief for the murder of their colleagues, ordained that the Patriarch of the Church of Kōkê should have full jurisdiction over the Bishops of the East, according to the enactments of ecclesiastical Canons."

¹ The author has not mentioned above the name of the Turkish town. See *Foreword*, p. 348. This "pagan town" appears to me to refer to Baghdad, the capital of the "pagan" Muslims.

Word, one of these three Persons of the Holy Trinity suffered, died, and was crucified, and by His death and His resurrection He saved us. This is their true faith.

Any one they see circumcised like pagans¹ they kill immediately, and they carry with them their sanctuaries anywhere they depart after their halts. Their feasts they celebrate with great pomp, and they love more than any other people the commemorations of saints and martyrs. They do not learn nor do they accept any other script besides our own, and in the language of us Syrians they write and read the Books of the two Testaments: the Old and the New, and the writings of the Orthodox Fathers. In their gatherings they translate the above Books into their Turkish language, while they never venture to change into the Turkish language the adorable name of our Divine Lord Jesus Christ nor that of Mary, the mother of God, but they pronounce them as they are in our Syriac language.² As to the rest of the words and names they render them into the Turkish language, in order that all their congregation may understand what is read.

In the days of the holy Lent they do not eat fresh and new meat, but meat that is dry like wood;³ and they fast from evening till evening, and they make the wafers of the Holy and Divine Sacrament from bread of pure wheat. They bring from other countries, with great care and diligence, pure flour from pure wheat, and they store it up for the purpose; so also they fetch from remote regions the raisins from which they make the wine used for the Holy Communion.

¹ This may refer to the Jews, and in case the document was written after the Arab invasion, to the Muslims. I firmly believe, however, that the document was written after the Arab invasion, and that the mention of Circumcision refers here to Muslims. Circumcision has apparently never been practised by ancient Turks and Mongols. "The Indo-Germanic peoples, the Mongols, and the Finno-Ugric races (except where they have been influenced by Muhammadanism) alone are entirely unacquainted with Circumcision" (Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 659).

² This information is confirmed by the Soghdian documents discovered in Central Asia. See *Foreword*.

³ This information is corroborated by Friar William (*ibid.* p. 64): "So then if it happens that an ox or a horse dies, they dry its flesh by cutting it into narrow strips and hanging it in the sun and the wind where at once and without salt it becomes dry without any evil smell." And Rockhill adds in a footnote: "Sun-dried meat is used in Mongolia and among the nomads of Tibet. It is usually eaten without any other preparation."

In their dresses they do not differ from the Turks who are pagan. All the people of the town speak another language called Yabatai,¹ and their script is in their own language. From there Eastwards, to the distance of two months' journey, there are many towns that contain pagan Turks who worship idols, and have script in their own language. The border town is called *Ḳaragur[am]*,² and the name of its King is *Idi-Ḳut*.³ Five days' journey from there lies the habitat of the Turks who are Christians and of whom we spoke above. They are true believers and God-fearing folk, and they dwell under tents, and have no towns, no villages, and no houses; but they are divided into powerful and great clans, who journey from place to place.

They have many possessions: sheep, cattle, camels, and horses. Each camel of theirs has two humps like a Salm⁴ (?) They have four great and powerful kings, each one living farther from the other, whose names are: the first *Gawirk*,⁵ the second *Girk*,⁶ the third

¹ Is it possible that this word is connected in any way with "Chagatai" the old dialect of the Turkic group of languages?

² I believe that this *Karagur* is a copyist's error for *Karakuram* or *Karakurum*. At the end of the Syriac word there is a partly obliterated letter which appears to have been a *mīm*. In the second half of the eighth Christian century (i.e. the time in which we believe that the document was written) the Christian Uighur Turks were all-powerful in Eastern Asia and had their capital at *Karakurum*. Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, i. 21.

³ As stated in the text *Idi-Kut* was the nickname of all the kings of the Uighur Turks. Juwaini expressly states in his *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* (i. 32, Gibb Mem.), that the Uighur Turks called their kings by this name, which means "Lord of the Kingdom." Barhebraeus (*Chron. Syr.*, p. 427, edit. Bedjan) asserts also the same thing. In his *Chron. Arab.* (edit. of the Jesuits of Beirut, 1890, pp. 399 and 402), the word is wrongly spelt *Idi-Kūb*. See also Rashīd's *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh*, *ibid.* p. 298, etc.

⁴ Is it possible that this word is the Arabic *sanīm*, "big-humped" camel?

⁵ The name is tentatively identified in the *Foreword*, p. 351. We may here compare for a certain similarity in the names of later generations: *Gaur-Khan*, which was used as a title of the kings of *Ḳara-Khitai* Turks and Tartars inhabiting Eastern Turkestan. See Juwaini (*Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, Gibb Mem.), i. 46-48, 52, 56, 57, and cf. also Guyuk, the grandson of Chingis Khan (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, *ibid.* p. 481). Juwaini (*ibid.* ii. 86), says that the word means "King of Kings."

⁶ The name is tentatively identified in the *Foreword*. We may here compare for a certain similarity in the names of later generations: *Garik*, or *Charik*, son of Chūchi Khān (Rashīd's *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh*, p. 115 (*ibid.*)). Cf. also *Churika*, son of Tūli (*ibid.*), p. 200.

Tāsahz,¹ and the fourth Langu.² They have a name common to all : Tātar,³ and the name of their country is Sericon.⁴ It is said that each one of these kings has with him four hundred thousand families, when they congregate at the time of their halts. Their country is broad and reaches as far as Magog,⁵ the city of the pagans, and beyond them everybody is heathen. But the Christian Turks of whom we have spoken receive ordination from the Bishop whose see is in that large town of the pagans⁶ which has five big churches.

These Christian Turks dwell under tents and pavilions, and have from themselves priests, deacons, and monks. They have many places of worship with them in their pavilions, and they ring the bells and read the Books in our Syriac tongue. They celebrate like us all the Festivals of the Dispensation of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ.

¹ The name is identified in the *Foreword*, p. 351. For a certain similarity in the names of later generations we may compare *Tāisi* the Mongolian Emir and general spoken of by Juwaini in his *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* (Gibb Mem.), i. pp. 113, 128, 136. Cf. also in Rashid's *Jāmi'* (*ibid.*, p. 466) "Tāishi" who proclaimed himself King of North China, and *ibid.*, p. 584.

² The name has been tentatively identified in the *Foreword*, p. 351 ; it can be illustrated by scores of North Chinese vocables, some of which may be seen in the excellent index to Yule-Cordier's *Cathay*, 1916, iv. pp. 318-320.

³ The earliest date to which the name *Tatar* has so far been traced is A.D. 732. Mention is made of *Tokuz Tatar* "nine (tribes of) Tatars" in a Turkish inscription found on the river Orkhon and bearing that date. See Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, 98, 126, 140, and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 113. How far the word *Tatun* can refer to *Tatar* or is to be identified with it is discussed by Cordier in his *Notes and Addenda* to Yule's edition of Marco Polo, 1920, p. 55.

⁴ Is the name *Sericon* related in any way to the *Sarīks*, those Turkish tribes now living in the neighbourhood of Panjdeh and Yulatan, but whose former habitat was central Turkestan? That *Sericon* is to be identified with *Seres* and *Serike* of Ptolemy is discussed in the "Foreword," pp. 326-327.

⁵ The Geography of the document has been rendered still more confused by the use of the word *Magog* which was often employed by both Eastern and Western writers to denote almost any Central Asian country of which little was known. Barhebraeus in his *Chron. Syr.*, sometimes calls the Empire of the Mongols that of the "Magogians," and on p. 579 (edit. Bedjan), he writes of the Emperor Kaigatu, "And when he was surely established as the head of the Empire of Magog." The author does not know the name of Mongolia and North China or Cathay, but applies to both of them the name *Sericon*, the appellation by which they are known in Ptolemy's geographical work. Michael the Syrian calls constantly the Turks as "people of Magog" (i. 103 ; iii. 149 and 222, etc.).

⁶ We believe that the allusion is to Baghdad.

They do not practise circumcision like pagans, but are baptised like us with the holy baptism and the holy chrism. They believe that Mary is the mother of God, and profess that Christ is God. They keep the Festivals and the Sundays like all other Christians.

No bread at all is found in their country, no cornfield, no vineyard, no wine, and no raisins; and all their food consists of meat and milk of sheep; and they have a great quantity of flocks.¹

The occasion of this arose at the time when persecution was aflame against the Christians of the countries of the Persians, at the hand of the accursed Barṣauli² of Nisibin, who killed seven thousand priests, monks, and clerics, and an innumerable multitude of believing

¹ This information about the food of the Turks and Tartars is well attested in history. See the Syriac authors quoted in the *Foreword*. For Western writers we will only refer to Friar William's account in Rockhill (*op. cit.* pp. 62-63): "They drink great quantities of mare's milk, if they have it; they drink also sheep's, goat's, cow's and camel's milk. Wine they have not unless it is sent from other nations or is given to them. . . . Of their food and victuals you must know that they eat all their dead animals without distinction, and with such flocks and herds it cannot be but that many animals die."—Pian de Carpine writes also: "They have no bread nor oil nor vegetables, nothing but meat, of which, however, they eat so little that other people could scarcely exist on it" (*ibid.* pp. 63-64). See also Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, pp. 408-409. Juwaini, *Jahān Gushā* i. 15, writes: "Their food was flesh of dogs and mice and other dead carrion, and their drink was milk of animals (*bahāim*)."
Michael the Syrian (iii. 152) says: "They slaughter and eat all that moves on the earth: domestic animals, savage beasts, reptiles, insects, and birds. They eat also dead carrion."

² The copyist writes the name of the famous Barṣauma, Bishop of Nisibin, in a derisive way, as Barṣaula. The same thing is done by the copyist of Barhebraeus's Ecclesiastical history (*Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 69). Further, Barhebraeus (*ibid.*) puts the number of the faithful done to death by Barṣauma at 7700, while the author of the present document counts 7000 priests, monks, and clerics, and an innumerable multitude of laymen. This fantastic travesty of the history of the introduction of Nestorianism into the Persian Empire has been well exposed by J. Labourt (*Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, p. 134 sq.). By hatred for the memory of Barṣauma his name is written very often as "Barsaula" by modern Jacobite scribes, and it is also as often as not written upside down like the name of "Satan". It is purely an affair of the copyists, and has absolutely nothing to do with the writers whose books they transcribe. Shammas Matti, the well-known Jacobite copyist of the present MS., assured me verbally that he has always written, and he will always write, the name of Barṣauma in this way, even if he was transcribing a Nestorian MS. What other means have we, said he, to distinguish this Barṣauma from our Saint Barṣauma?

laymen. It is because of this that the Holy Spirit does not come down to sanctify the sacrament (= the Eucharist) of the Nestorian heretics. Since it has been made known that the Holy Spirit does not come down and sanctify the Sacrament of these heretics, the spirit that comes down on their altars and their sacrament is, therefore, that of Satan. And as those who were baptised by Judas Iscariot, before his fall, were truly baptised, because of the truth that he was proclaiming, so also are those who took part in the unholy Synod of Chalcedon. Indeed, before they blasphemed and took part in it the Spirit used to come down on them, on their sacrament, and on their altars, but after they blasphemed and rent asunder the true faith, and went out of the fold of life, they became anathematised and rejected, ceased to possess the Holy Spirit, and have only the spirit of error and of Satan. They also were deprived and dispossessed of baptism, ordination, and of all the sacraments of the Holy Church. May the Lord God deliver us together with all the children of the Holy Church from any intercourse and communion with them, through the intercession of Mary, the mother of God, and of all the saints ! Glory be to God ! and may His grace and mercy be upon all of us ! Amen.

Here ends the letter of Mar Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbūg, to Abi 'Afr, Military Governor of Hīrtā of Nu'mān.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE (to pp. 323 and 325).

According to Ibn at-Tayib who died in 1043 (see Vat. MS. Borgia 153 fol. 198^b in Sachau's *Ausb.*, p. 24) the Bishoprics of Meru, Herat, Samarkand, India, and China were elevated to the rank of Archbishoprics at a much earlier date : Meru by the Patriarch Isaac (399-410) and the rest by the Patriarch Ishō'-Yahb (628-643). China and Samarkand might have been, therefore, the seats not only of Bishops but of Archbishops more than a century before the time that we were disposed to assign to them.

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[illegible][illegible]

APOLLO'S BIRDS.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,

CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

I. APOLLO AND THE WILD SWANS.

THE most beautiful of all the shining passages in which Plato has recorded for us the last days of Socrates is that in which the Sage, who was also the Seer and the Saint, compares himself to the Wild Swans who wait upon Apollo. Playfully at first, (but evidently the playfulness is only on the surface) he asks Simmias, whether he really thinks him inferior in prophetic power to the swans, or less able than they to greet the unseen with a song. "For they, who sing at other times also, when they feel that they are to die, sing most and best in their joy that they are to go to the god whose servants they are. . . . For they are Apollo's birds, and they have prophetic vision, and, because they have fore-knowledge of the blessings of the other world, they sing and rejoice in that day more than ever before."

With these birds Socrates compares himself, and, as if he were actually one of them, in the face of the River of Death,

"Ruffles his pure cold plume and takes the flood
With swarthy webs."

When one has read over, once and again, those noble words from the *Phædo*, it seems almost a bathos to ask the commentators for a footnote, and to bid them tell us why the Swans are described as Apollo's Birds. Perhaps they do not know; and in that case they may tell us something we do not ask, as, for instance, that gods and goddesses have ornithological tastes, that Jupiter owns an Eagle and was, perhaps, once a Woodpecker; that Juno is or was a cuckoo; and that the doves of Aphrodite describe her simplicity, or some other quality. If, however, they are wise commentators, they will tell us

that there is a prior question to that of Apollo's Birds, and that is the question of Apollo himself. Was he, perhaps, like Zeus, originally a bird, or a bird-man, or even himself a Swan, the first and greatest of the clan? So we may properly begin investigation, with the object of elucidating the Socratic speech, by going in search of the god himself whose servant Socrates professed to be.

Modern enquiries on this line have commonly accepted as a starting-point the old Greek tradition, that Apollo was an importation from Northern regions. The Greeks had much to say about his Hyperborean origin, and about Hyperboreans in general, who were supposed to live in tranquil blessedness somewhere out of reach of verification, and suitably placed, in consequence, for objects of faith. It is therefore commonly said that the Fair God and the Happy Folk lived at the Back of the North Wind, and many attempts have been made to bring this interpretation of Hyperborean into the region of intelligibility. One explanation was that it meant "on the other side of the mountains"; and it has been suggested that Boreas himself might be cognate with a Slavonic root, which actually does mean "mountain," in which case the next step would be to say that Apollo was a migrant deity from the other side of the Balkans. After all, the exact etymology of Hyperboreans does not concern us; for, without importing an unnatural subtlety into the meaning of the term, we may recognise it as the equivalent of *Far north*, and say that Apollo was a deity from the Far North, without introducing the Balkans or any particular chain of mountains into the discussion.

If this is the right way to regard the migrant deity, the question at once arises whether the swans, who have attached themselves in some way to his cult, may not be also migrant birds, with whom he was acquainted in his Northern home, and did not lose by coming south. To make the suggestion is almost to verify it; for the swan is a migrant bird; and now, instead of leaving the swans in order to make an intellectual pursuit of Apollo, we leave him, rather, and go in ornithological search of the birds on their way from Northern Europe somewhere into Southern Europe, maybe even into Africa or Asia Minor. And here the *Phaedo*, which was not meant to be a treatise on ornithology, except as regards the preening of wings for a final flight out of the dusk into the day, gives us a hint of a distinction in bird-life of which the Greeks themselves appear to have been unaware. For

the swans in the *Phaedo* are musical birds ; they sing always, and at last more than ever. But this is not so with the swans of our ornamental waters, for instance ; they are domesticated and dumb ; and they were dumb before they were domesticated. They are migrant, but have nothing to say for themselves, or about their wanderings. Thus there are two main species of swans, the musical and the mute ; and they are perfectly distinct, as even a superficial examination of bill and feathers will show. The Greeks, however, do not seem to have observed this ; or rather, having made observations which were contradictory, according to which one group said "the swan sings," and another said, "the swan is mute," it seemed more philosophical to form two schools on the question, without recourse to further experiment. The dispute went on for many centuries, and Gregory of Nazianzus even goes so far as to say that he will believe that swans sing, when magpies cease to chatter. Thus the matter is settled by a humorous epigram ; and what more attractive method could be found for settling a problem, either in theology or in ornithology ! If at a later date some natural philosopher should actually produce the swan notes on a phonograph, it will still be possible to say as Mr. D'Arcy Thompson does in his *Glossary of Greek Birds* (p. 107) that, if the creature does sing, it is in any case very bad music. So we settle the question with a musical *argumentum ad cycnum*. Dechelette (*Manuel d'Archéologie*, ii. 19, n.) is also among the "enraged musicians" ; "il était célèbre auprès les Hellènes pour son chant mélodieux, alors qu'en réalité le cri du cygne ne justifie en rien cette réputation." Let us, however, see how the swan-music impressed another critic when he heard it in the Far North. Mr. Baring Gould, who may be regarded as a good judge of music, if somewhat defective in scientific criticism, tells us that once when sleeping under a tent in Iceland, "I was wakened with a start by a wild triumphant strain as of clarions pealing from the sky. I crept from under canvas to look up, and saw a flight of the Hooper swans on their way to the lakes of the interior, high up, lit by the sun, like flakes of gold-leaf against the green sky of an arctic night." Does not that 'take both ear and eye ?' And is it unworthy of Apollo ?

Plato's swans then are the Wild Swans that sing : and now we have really taken a step forward in our search for them, and for the deity whom they serve : for the migrant swan is a creature of

practically unvarying habits. It nests in the same spot, year after year ; and marks the stages of its northern or southern migration, on the same cliffs or islets. This is brought out incidentally by Walter Scott in his little poem on Highland Nora who would not marry the Earlie :

" Still in the water-lily's shade
Her wonted nest the wild-swan made " ;

that is true to nature ; and we may, therefore, go in search of the wonted nests and the habitual halts of the sacred bird, with the assurance that except where ruthless civilisation has made nesting or resting impossible, or when colder weather than usual has driven the birds from their normal line of flight, we shall find them on the same spots in the Far North, from which in prehistoric times they made their way into Middle Europe or the Mediterranean.¹

Now let us turn to the writers on Bird-lore for accounts of the Wild Swan and its ways. We shall find a number of ornithological authorities quoted in Morris, *Dictionary of British Birds* ; or in Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* ; or in Dresser, *Birds of Europe*, etc. etc. For example :—

Newton, *Dict. of Birds*, p. 931 :

" The *Cygnus musicus* or *C. ferus* of most authors, which was doubtless always a winter visitant to this country. . . . It usually appears in November, but is more frequently seen from December to March. . . . This entirely distinct species is a native of Iceland, Eastern Lapland and Northern Russia, whence it wanders southward in autumn, and the musical notes it utters (contrasting with the silence that has caused its relative to be often called the Mute Swan) have been celebrated from the time of Homer to our own."

Dresser, *Birds of Europe*, vi. 433, s. 99 :

" It usually appears in November, but is more frequently seen from December to March. . . . The return of these fine birds in spring, on their passage northward, is occasionally remarked. . . . It usually arrives in the Outer Hebrides in November, though earlier than that in some years especially during the prevalence of Northerly winds, and about the middle of April, Mr. Robert Gray says, the noble congregation breaks up into detachments, as the Bernacle Geese are

¹ Dresser : *Birds of Europe*, vi. 440 : " In the vast, almost unapproachable morasses of the high north, its nest . . . is placed upon a tussock, and is used, should the bird not be molested, for several years in succession."

known to do ; and after much sounding of bugles summoning the feathered hosts into the air, they soon get into their line of flight, and are afterwards seen at a great height steering for their northern home."

According to Dr. Saxby (*Birds of Shetland*), "the Whooper arrives in large flocks in September and October, only staying long enough to rest ; and it reappears sometimes as early as the end of February, but usually in March and April, on its passage northward. . . ."

The range of its migrations in Europe, apart from the British Isles, is summed up by Morris as follows :—

"The Hooper [i.e. the Whooper or musical] Swan visits Prussia, Turkey, Greece, Hungary, Poland, France, Denmark, Holland and Italy ; occasionally seen also in different parts of Germany, particularly it is said in Westphalia, Saxony, Dessau, and Worlitz, from its northern breeding grounds in Iceland, Norway, Lapland, Sweden, Spitzbergen, and the extreme north of Russia in Europe ; it appears now to be only a straggler to Greenland ; it appears likewise that it travels as far as Africa, to Egypt and Barbary. . . . They migrate, according to the season, in March or April, and October, northward in the former months, and southward in the later one."

This rapid survey will indicate what we are to go in quest of, when Greek writers speak of the Wild Swan and its music and of the connection of the bird with the service and the rites of Apollo. So we turn now to the Greek literature.

A good place to begin will be the first chorus in the *Ion* of Euripides, where the hero is scaring away, by his bow and arrow, the flights of birds, great and small, who meditate a descent on the cornice of the temple at Delphi. Having driven off the eagle, he next, to our surprise, orders off the swan and bids it "away to Delos," as not being wanted here in Delphi ; here are the lines in Mr. Way's translation :

"Lo, yonder the pinion-oars come rowing
Of another, a swan, to the altar :—away !
Speed hence thy feet in the dawn of rose-glowing ;
Else Phœbus' lyre that accordeth its lay
To thy notes, from death shall redeem not thee.
Waft outward thy wings of snow :
Light down on the Delian mere oversea,
Lest the blood-rush choke, if thou do not so,
Thy sweet throat's melody."

The important point to notice here is the seeming contradiction in the choric song. The swan is not wanted in Delphi : he can go to Delos : that is, from one temple of Apollo to the other, as though he were, and were not, the bird of Apollo ; then a surprising statement is made that the lyre of Apollo is itself tuned to the song of the swan ; so friendly relations are restored in the musical world, when they seem to be lost or doubtful, in the world of religion. What does Ion mean by the harmony in question,

ἃ φόρμιγξ ἃ Φοῖβον σύμολπος ?

Suppose we turn to Hecataëus, whose account of the elusive Hyperboreans is preserved for us in Diodorus Siculus. From him we learn that there is in the Far North a people who live on a certain island and worship Apollo in a round temple ; they are on very friendly terms, from early times, with the Athenians and the people of Delos. Hecataëus tells us that Apollo himself comes to the island every nineteen years, and that then they begin their choral service at the spring equinox, and that the wild swans come down from the Rhipæan mountains, and join their notes harmoniously with the human voices.

The importance of these statements must be conceded : they establish, so far as tradition can, the existence of an island in which there was a cult of Apollo, and also that the inhabitants of this island were in touch by religious embassy with Greece itself, and with Delos as the ultimate centre to be reached, Apollo in the North or North-West being thus linked with Apollo in the South-East. In fact Hecataëus tells us the history of one particular embassy, to which we shall refer presently, when a certain priest of Apollo left his island sanctuary, visited the sacred shrines in Greece, and became, so they say, a disciple of Pythagoras. Hecataëus gives also some astronomical and ornithological data, as that there was a nineteen-year cycle involved in the ritual, and that there was a migration of wild swans at the spring equinox. It is customary to regard as unimportant the reference to the nineteen-year cycle, as being borrowed from the Metonic cycle at Athens. Meton is, in fact, credited with having discovered, in the fifth century before Christ that nineteen Solar years were almost exactly equal to 235 lunations ; so that if, for example, it was full moon at sunset at the spring equinox in any given year, it would again be full moon at the same hour in nineteen years' time. It

should, perhaps, be left open for further enquiry as to whether the Metonic cycle may not be older than Meton ; for the Hyperborean temple is suspiciously like a Solar temple, accurately oriented, in which case discoveries might be made as to the coincidence of sun and moon, without actual numerical calculation.

However that may be, no doubt can exist with regard to the equinox and the migration of the wild swans, because they take part in the musical ritual of the temple, and the equinox that dates their arrival is said to be the spring equinox, which is roughly the time when the birds are moving northward into the Arctic regions for the breeding season. A difficulty arises from the statement that the swans come down from the Rhipæan, which we might otherwise suppose to be the Norwegian mountains : but as we do not know the exact geographical position of these mountains, we may leave them out of the story. It must be remembered, too, that Scandinavia itself (like California in a later age) was believed to be an island by the ancients and is, therefore, not prohibited from putting in a claim for identification with Hyperborea.

For our purpose the most important element in the tradition is the descent of the wild swans on the temple of Apollo ; we need no further explanation why they are Apollo's birds nor why their songs are said to blend with the lyrics of the temple. What Hecataeus tells us of the Apolline sanctuary is repeated, more or less concordantly, by Ælian ; it is interesting to examine his statements, on account of the stress which is laid on the rhythmic and choral harmony between the piping birds and the temple music : it was this concord to which we drew attention in the chorus of Euripides' *Ion* where Phœbus himself is said to have attuned his lyre to the swan-song. In Ælian as we have said, we get the same emphasis laid on the concord of sweet sounds, and where Euripides speaks of a *φórμυγξ σύμμολπος* Ælian has the cognate expression *συναναμέλπονσιν*. They are both of them, Euripides and Ælian, in the Hyperborean tradition.

What Ælian tells us (*Hist. Anim.*, x. I), is to the following effect : " there are three priests in the temple of the Hyperborean Apollo, all sons of Boreas and Chione (the North Wind and our Lady of the Snows), six cubits high, each one of them. At the regular season of the year when they are conducting the customary rites, the swans fly down in clouds from the Rhipæan mountains, they

sweep round the temple, almost as though they were making a ceremonial purification of the building with their wings, and then they alight in the circuit of the sanctuary. When the songmen hymn the god in their own art, and the harpists are twangling a harmonious accompaniment, the swans make their concordant music (*συναναμέλπουσιν*) not losing time or tune, as though they had got the keynote from the choir conductor, and were joining their natural music with that of the artists of the sacred minstrelsy ; and then, when the hymn ends, away they fly, having discharged the wonted service in honour of the god."

No doubt Ælian is following Hecataëus : he says so ; but in any case he gives as vivid a picture as could be wished of the migrating birds and their part in the Easter Hyperborean festival. They were chanting to Apollo, they were singing with Apollo ; even the rush of their wings was a kind of music. As Aristophanes says,

(*Av.*, 771), *συμμιγῇ βοὴν ὁμοῦ πτεροῖς κρέκοντες*
ἱακχον Ἀπόλλω .

Now let us go a little further in quest of the Hyperboreans and in the attempt to locate them and to find the northern temple of Apollo.

Of the Far-North men themselves we have a single figure identifiable in the Greek tradition. We have already referred to one Abaris, who came into Greece on a religious and political mission. Hecataëus says that it was to revive the ancient goodwill and kinship (*εὐνοίαν τε καὶ εὐγένειαν*) between the Hyperboreans and the Delians. The mission was from temple of Apollo to temple of Apollo, and was, therefore, analogous to those trans-European expeditions of which Herodotus speaks, which brought the sacred gifts of the North in mysterious tabooed packages through Scythian lands to Delphi and Delos. And Abaris himself is stated to have been a priest of Apollo, of venerable age and corresponding wisdom. Herodotus, who knows the traditions about him, is wickedly sceptical, and leaves us without the information he evidently possesses. So we are obliged to seek it elsewhere from much later authorities, such as Stephanus of Byzantium, the geographer, and Jamblichus and Porphyry in their closely related Lives of Pythagoras. From the former we learn, with Hecataëus again as the ultimate authority, that the name of the island on which the temple stood was *Helixioia*, with some other information

about its position ; from the two philosophers we learn many details about Abaris, his priesthood, his wisdom, his long journey and his intercourse with Pythagoras. It appears that he went to Greece, not only to give but to get. He was collecting money for Apollo at home (τὸν ἀγεργθέντα χρύσον τῷ θεῷ) ; he came home, so it is said, via Italy, and there he came across Pythagoras. He was so struck with the resemblance of the great philosopher to the representation of Apollo which he had at home (some carved wooden image or what not), that he saluted him as Apollo, and underwent some kind of initiation, which we may imagine to have been in elementary mathematics and vegetarianism. In the latter direction, however, he must have had limited opportunity for practice, for Herodotus suggests that he did not eat at all, in which case the problem of dietetics was much simplified. He then gave to Pythagoras his greatest treasure, the golden arrow which he had brought from the temple at home. This arrow had been his guide, philosopher, and friend : he had crossed rivers on its back, and traversed forests and morasses by its aid : it had also purificatory powers, could drive away distempers, subdue tempests, and furnish blessings to the cities which he visited. Apparently these powers were now transferred to Pythagoras as Apollo. The whole recitation is full of marvel, and Herodotus ought not to have disbelieved it. Another form of the arrow-magic (the arrow itself reminds us of a witch's broomstick) says that Pythagoras shared these powers with three of his greatest disciples, viz., Empedocles, Epimenides and Abaris ; Empedocles was known as the *Averter*, Epimenides as the *Cathartic* (was he not once summoned to Athens to stay a plague ?) and Abaris was called *Æthrobrates*, because he could ride the air on his arrow. We note that the golden arrow was part of the temple furniture in Helixioia. But where is Helixioia ? Jamblichus calls Abaris a Scythian, which does not, to our ordinary apprehension connote an islander, and to readers of Herodotus, hardly suggests a Far-North man.

We turn to Stephanus of Byzantium ; as we have said, he is quoting from Hecataeus : he tells us that *Helixioia* is as large as Sicily and that it lies below the river Karambuka. The islanders are called Karambukæ after the name of the river, as Hecataeus of Abdera states. Here, then, is more geography and more perplexity. It must be a big river that gives its name to the inhabitants of a great island in

the northern sea. Is it Great Britain, with Stonehenge for the necessary solar temple? or is it Heligoland, now much eroded by the sea, but, at one time of a greater compass, as old maps show. It, too, had a famous temple, which stood till it was destroyed by St. Liudger, in the Christian interest. This was a temple of Fosete, the son of Balder and Nanna, and the ancestor of all our Forsyth and Fawcett and Balder-son clans; and it has been conjectured that Balder, who thus comes on the scene, is the Northern Apollo. Or perhaps it may be Scandinavia, which, as was said above, was thought by the ancients to be an island and has the tradition of one of the great pagan temples of antiquity. Or there is the island of Rügen, which has much to recommend it as an identification; it also has a temple which was destroyed by Waldemar I, the Christian King of Denmark; it lies not very far from Dantzic whence the Amber Routes start for the Adriatic and the Black Sea, routes which are supposed to be the Sacred Roads of Apollo: and best of all, it is still a resting-place for the wild swans in their northerly and southerly migrations. They are said to have been on Rügen in great numbers in October, 1852, on their southward flight.

Another possible identification of the sacred island of Apollo and his birds may be found in the outer Hebrides. In Martin's *Description of the Western Isles* (1705), we are told of the island Lingay (one of the Uist group) that "the Swans come hither in great numbers in the month of October, with North-East Winds, and live in the fresh Lakes, where they feed on Trout and Water plants till March, at which time they fly away again with a South-East Wind."

Martin further remarks (which makes an excellent illustration for our quest) that "this Island was held as consecrated for several Ages, in so much that the Natives would not presume to cut any [peat] Fuel in it."

These are the directions in which we are to look for the lost Hyperboreans.

Turning again to Stephanus of Byzantium, we notice that the termination of the name is not unlike those of the islands in the *Odyssey*; there is *Ææa*, the island of Kirkē, there is *Hypereia*, the home of Nausicaa; and *Ogygia* the haunt of Kalypso; these are not Mediterranean names; probably a large part of *Odyssean* geography comes from the North Sea; the termination of the island names is the

Norse *ey* (Orkney *ay*) with which we are familiar. Kirke's island, *ay-ay*, is a mere reduplication ;¹ *Hyperia* probably stands for an original *Upper-ey*, and so on. Is it possible to resolve *Helixioia* into *Heligs-ey*? That would bring us very near to Helig-oland,² about whose original form there has been much dispute. The case will be clearer if we can show that the wild swans make Heligoland one of their resting-places on migration.

Let us see what Gätke says of Heligoland, as a centre for the observation of the migration of birds, a study to which he devoted fifty years of his life. We transcribe a passage from the chapter on the "Course of Migration in Heligoland," in order to give some idea of the central position of the island for ornithological study. The writer is making a record for a time of severe frost.

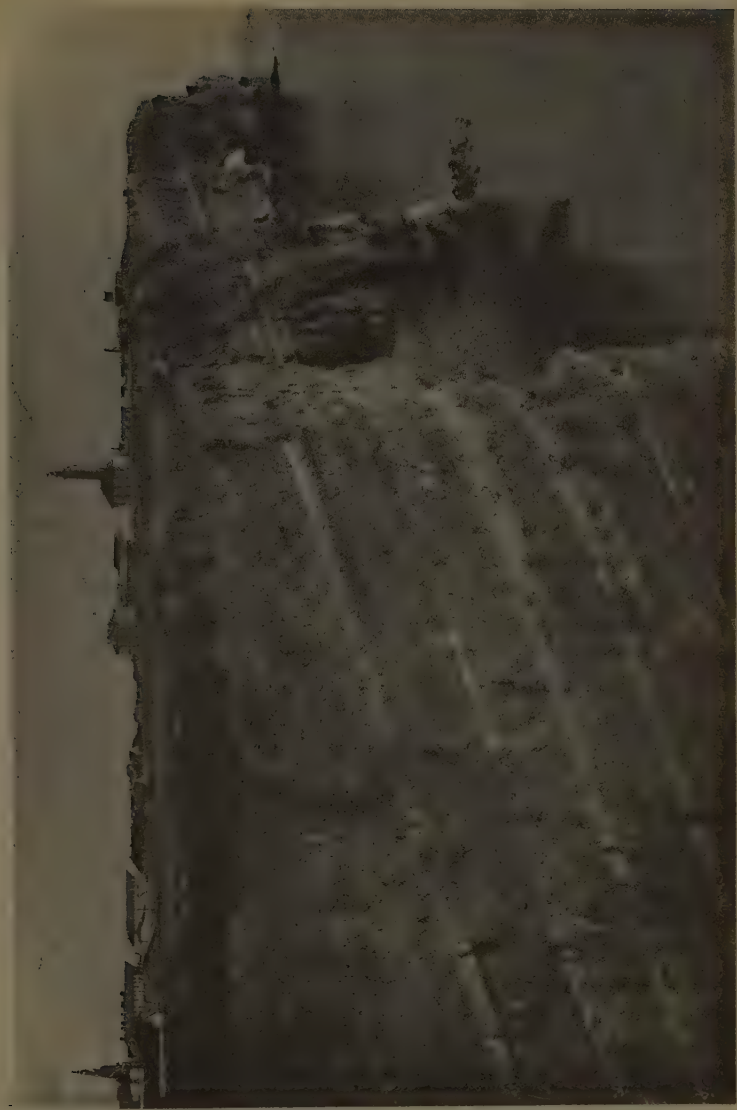
"Countless multitudes of all sorts of species are seen speeding towards all parts, and in all directions, in companies great and small, solitary and in pairs. Indeed I have known days on which I have seen, far as the eye could reach, in all quarters of the sky, swarms of these birds crossing each other in all directions ; and more astonishing still, on looking upward, have beheld above me a teeming multitude, so thick that the highest swarms presented the appearance of scarcely discernible clouds of dust. . . . Nowhere does the quick observant eye find rest. Suddenly are heard—first faintly, then in increasing loudness—sounds like distant trumpet-blasts, and once more our eyes are attracted upwards, where a long chain of Whooper Swans, eighteen or twenty in number, in snow-white plumage, calmly pursue their way with measured beating of their wings."³

When Gätke comes to describe in detail the various birds that visit Heligoland, he says (p. 519) : "This swan [the musical swan] occurs here more or less numerous every winter, being most frequently seen during long-continued frost ; on such occasions it is not uncommon

¹ We have something like it in the Hebrides, where the maps show the island of Egg: *Egg* (*Eigh*) is a collateral form of the Norse *Ey* which is the first syllable in *Island*, in which word, as is well-known, the letter *s* is intrusive. A similar case in *Islay*, where again the *s* is recent and intrusive, and the name a reduplication. *Lund-y* (? Puffin island) is another case.

² *Oland* is the same as *Aland* both of which forms occur in the Gulf of Bothnia, and mean again *Island*.

³ *Heligoland, an ornithological observatory* (Eng. trans., 1895), pp. 21-22.



■ ELIGHLAND

to see flights of ten, twenty or even much larger numbers migrating high overhead in a long row one behind the other, uttering loud trumpet-calls as they pass along."

That will be the observation of the southerly migration. I have not found any corresponding reference to the spring migration in the opposite direction. It is however, a necessary complement to the other; and we may, therefore, take it as established that Heligoland is one of the stations frequented by the migrating swan of Apollo, and that the accounts which Hecatæus and other Greek writers give of the Hyperborean swan are based upon actual observation made on an island in the Northern sea, and that it is highly probable that Heligoland is the island to which they refer.

Now let us return and examine the Greek tradition somewhat more closely.

There is a central figure in the story, named Abaris, a man of venerable age, honorable by station as a priest of Apollo, and endowed with various magical and prophetic powers. He is said to have carried with him through Europe a magical golden arrow taken from the temple of Apollo, in Heligoland, or wherever it was, and transferred it to the keeping of Pythagoras the philosopher, in whom Abaris recognised an incarnation of Apollo himself. The arrow was Apollo's arrow, as the swans were Apollo's birds. The conjunction of Apollo and the arrow is sufficiently familiar to every student of Greek antiquity, whether in literature or in art. Both Apollo and Artemis are archers and carry their weapons about with them. We are not surprised, therefore, that Abaris, as a priest of Apollo, should have carried the sacred symbol, but we question if students have sufficiently realised the significance of the arrow in the tradition with regard to Apollo. For example, we have already referred to a chorus in the *Ion* of Euripides, in which the lyre of Apollo is harmonious with the song of the wild swans. Ion, who is temple-warden to Apollo, appears on the stage with bow and arrow, threatens the birds, even the eagle and the swan, when they propose to alight on the sanctuary. A little later, when Xuthus comes forward to greet Ion with a paternal salutation, as directed by the Oracle, Ion becomes angry, and is on the point of lodging an arrow in the breast of his newly-assigned father. It will be admitted that there is some parallel between Abaris, with the temple arrow, and

Ion at Delphi. So the thought arises whether the name Ion does not contain a reference to the Greek word for arrow (*ίός*) in which case Ion would be the Arrow-man, acting as deputy for Phoebus Apollo, and his weapon would be a temple weapon.¹

In that event Euripides must be held to have acquaintance with the meaning of his hero's name, but he hides his knowledge, and constructs an etymological myth. The god has informed Xuthus, who has come to him lamenting his childless condition, that the first person whom he meets when he goes from the oracle to the sanctuary is designed for his son. He is playing with the participle *ἰων* (*going*), neglecting the quantity of the vowel, which is long in *ίός* (*arrow*) and short in the verb. After that explanation, he will offer another, namely, that Ion is to be the father of the Ionian race in Asia Minor. It will be convenient to set down the principal passages.

In the opening speech Hermes explains how Apollo, who has Ion under his patronage, is planning the youth's future :

δώσει γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μαντεῖον τόδε
 Ξούθῳ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα . . .
 Ἴωνα δ' αὐτόν, κτίστορ' Ἀσιάδος χθονός,
 ὄνομα κεκληῆσθαι θήσεται καθ' Ἑλλάδα.

He shall give Xuthus, when he entereth
 His own child. . . .

And Ion shall he cause him to be called
 Through Greece, the founder of an Asian realm.

Here we should have expected *εἰσιόντι* for *εἰσελθόντι*, if the new name of the child is to be justified ; but perhaps we may allow a certain reticence to Hermes, who must not let the secret be known too soon. Later in the play (l. 661) Xuthus fulfils the oracle and says :

Ἴωνα δ' ὀνομάζω σε τῇ τύχῃ πρέπον,
 ὁδοῦν' ἐκ' ἀδύτων ἐξιώντι μοι θεοῦ
 ἱχνος συνήψας πρῶτος.

Ion I name thee, of that happy chance
 In that, as forth Apollo's shrine I came,
 First lighted *Ion* thee.

—(Way)

¹ An illuminating parallel may be found in the Delphic festival of Stepterion, where the conflict between Apollo and the Python was dramatically enacted, and a youth of noble birth played the part of Apollo and shot the serpent with his arrow. (See A. B. Cook, *Folklore*, 1904, xv., p. 403 f. for references.)

and again, the play on the name is brought out in full simplicity in l. 831 :

Ἴων, ἰόντι δῆθεν ὅτι συνήντετο,

where Mr. Way ingeniously transfers, as in the previous case, the word-play into English,

Ion-set eye on him the first, forsooth.

It need hardly be said that this is all "rude magic" of the great tragedian. The name *Ion* was never connected with the verb to *go*, either in *going out* or in *going in*, nor is it a patronymic of the Ionian race. It seems, then, probable that Euripides knew more than he actually reveals. The temple warden at Delphi was the arrow-man. Was the same thing true of Abaris who, in the Hyperborean legend, played tricks with the temple-arrow? To answer this question we must go deeper and ask why an arrow should be a sacred symbol at all, and in particular, why of Apollo and Artemis. To this there will be ready answers from various quarters, as that divination by arrows is one of the oldest forms of mantic, and that Apollo is represented as engaged on this special kind of divination on certain Greek coins, such as those of the Seleucid kings. Others will show from the Greek literature that Apollo as god of light and practically equivalent to the Sun himself, sends out his beams like arrows, far and wide, all over the world. It is not denied that these are good illustrations for Apollo and his arrow. Suppose, however, we imagine a more primitive state of human culture; for, after all, the discovery of the use of the arrow is one of the forward steps in human progress. What is the difference between the man who shoots an arrow and the one who can only throw a stone or a javelin? The answer is that he can *throw further*, he can *operate at a greater distance*. If now the hero who discovers the method of propulsion of an arrow from a string obtains his just deserts, what more likely than that he will be described as the *Far-thrower*, or *Farthest-thrower*, or *Far-worker*? And these are the actual titles of Apollo in Greek Mythology: the perplexing names ἐκατηβόλος or ἐκηβόλος or ἐκάεργος which we usually render, when they occur in Homer, as *Far-darter* and the like, with a reference to the rays of the sun. They are really the complimentary titles of the inventor of the arrow. In them we recognise the reason for the historic connection between Apollo and the arrow, and for its preservation in his Northern Temple.

The suggestion also arises as to whether Ion is the name, not only of Apollo's temple-warden at Delphi, but also of Apollo himself. If it were so, it would explain, at least in part, the vociferation 'Iè Παίαν, with which the worshippers greet the god, *ιέ* being a vocative formation from *ιός* arrow, and not a mere senseless interjection.¹ The very appearance of Ion, on the temple-platform at Delphi, in Euripides' play, youthful, beautiful, with his bow and arrow, suggests that he is the incarnation of Apollo.

We now return to Abaris and ask whether by name, and priesthood, or by his arrow, he is in any way related to Apollo. The first examination does not seem very promising. No vocable implying either "bow" or "arrow" suggests itself, as in the case of Ion. Herodotus (iv. 36) says that Abaris carried about (περιέφερε) the sacred arrow, and ate nothing (οὐδὲν σιτεύμενος). The word "carried about" suggests the ambassadors to Delos, from the north, who were called *Perpherees*, because they brought the sacred gifts and had charge of the sacred maidens.

But what does it mean that Abaris, who had charge of the arrow, ate nothing? Northern mythology furnishes an explanation. Mr. A. B. Cook has shown, in articles on the Sky-god in *Folklore*, that the food of the northern gods was from the sacred apple-tree, and that, when one was provided with this nutriment, he became, like the gods, regenerated and immortal. For example, in the story of Connla the Red, a fairy throws the hero an apple; he then goes for a month without meat or drink, living only on the magic apple which is renewed again as fast as it is eaten. Can we find any trace of a belief that Abaris had been supplied with such magic apples from the temple of Apollo? There is something suggestive of it in a fragment of Heracleides Ponticus (Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.*, i. 145; 22 ff.) to which Mr. Cook has drawn my attention. The writer is telling of matters pertaining to Abaris, and says that the divinity took the form of a young man, and laid the tree upon him (Abaris) with injunction to believe that, as far as possible, the gods interest themselves in human

¹ The suggestion that Ion was a name for Apollo had already been made by others, interpreting Ion as the healer from *Ἰάω*, see Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* ii. 740^a, "Wahrscheinlich ist *Ἰα-F-ων*, *Ἰων*, der Heiler, alte Kultzeichnung des Apollon". So Pape-Benseler, *Wört. der Gr. Eigennamen*, i. 583.

affairs. If, as seems likely, the young divinity here is Apollo, the tree would be the apple-tree, sacred to Apollo, and at the foundation of his cult. Abaris would then be carrying sacred apples with him. We suspect, also, from other sources, that among the sacred gifts despatched to Delos and Delphi were sacred apples packed in straw. It would therefore be quite natural for Abaris to eat the fruit of the immortal gods on his embassy, and, in consequence, like Connla the Red, to be without desire for any other food.¹ The identification would be practically complete, if we could have made a satisfactory explanation of the name *Abaris* from an earlier form *Abalis*; in which case we should have the sacred-apple (*abal*) incorporated in the name of the priest and messenger of Apollo. But to this attractive solution there are serious objections; the change from *l* to *r* does not appear to be attested in Western philology; though, in the opposite direction, place-names show some variation of *r* to *l*: there is also a difficulty about the termination of the name.

However that may be, we have before us the probability that both *arrow* and *apple* are among the great sanctities of Northern Europe: the discovery of the one and the first culture of the other may be traced to the Baltic and the North Sea. Each of them is under the patronage of Apollo. With the addition of the sacred bird and perhaps a plant or two, they constitute his religious apparatus. Both apple and arrow can be shown to have a place in the great art of divination.

The explanation of the discovery of the arrow as being the *conquest of distance*, by the hunter in the first place, and later by the warrior, can be illustrated from a statement of Sir John Evans in his *Ancient Stone Implements*:

P. 321. "The discovery of the bow, as a means of *propelling javelins on a small scale to a distance*, seems to belong to a higher grade of culture, and its use is not universal among modern savages. . . . In Europe, however, the use of the bow seems to date back to a very remote period, for in some of the cave deposits of the Reindeer Period of the South of France, what appear to be undoubted arrow-heads occur."

¹We may assume that this fragment of Heracleides on the story of Abaris is taken from the same source as our other Hyperborean legends, viz., the writings of Hecataeus. That would at once explain who the youthful divinity was, and what the nature of the sacred tree.

The advance step in culture is thus affirmed to be, as we have said, the conquest of distance, and we may continue to call Apollo the *Far-darter*, if we remember that at the beginning the *dart* was a real dart, what the Greeks would call a βέλος, and not a symbol or a sunbeam. It is clear now why in the Orphic Hymn Apollo is addressed as χρυσεοβέλεμνε, *He of the Golden Missile*.

We may conclude with one or two reflections as to the probability of the acquaintance of Euripides, when writing his drama, with the story of Hecataëus concerning the Hyperboreans. The opening scene on the sacred platform at Delphi where the lovely youth appears, carrying the temple bow and arrow, tells us, even before Hermes speaks, that Ion is Apollo, or as near to an exact equation as the stage can furnish; and the emphasis which Euripides lays on the sacred arrow in these opening scenes shows that he knew of another derivation for Ion, than the foolish oracular bit of grammar and unnatural present participle. We have also seen that he describes the swan-song in terms borrowed from Hecataëus. Indeed we not only detect traces of Hecataëus in the opening of the play; we suspect that the moral of the drama may be found in the same quarter. We have already quoted from a fragment of Heraclides Ponticus, which appears to derive from the same source as Herodotus and the other authors who discourse on Hyperborea and the Hyperboreans, viz.: the writings of Hecataëus. Here, then, we are told that it was the word of Apollo to Abaris that *one must believe that the gods have a concern for human affairs*. The same sentiment is involved in the message of Apollo through Athena to Ion and his mother, at the close of the play. Athena shows how Apollo had done all things well, in his oversight of the mother and the son; whereupon Ion breaks out with a πιστεύομεν in response to the narration by Athena of the providence over his mother and himself:

"Pallas, Daughter of the Highest, child of Zeus, we will receive
These thy words *with no unfaith*, but *Loxias I do believe*
Sire to me, and her my mother: *never was this past belief*":

to which confession of faith the sceptical Creusa also gives her reluctant consent, and Athena moralises that

"Slow the Gods' hands haply are, but mightily at last fulfil."

Supplementary Notes.

We may now add some observations in confirmation of the foregoing argument.

First of all we have made it plain that the word *Far-darter* belongs in the first instance to Apollo and his arrow and only in a secondary way to Helios and his beams. The kinship between Helios and Apollo is, however, so close that they even shared sanctities and divided ritual honours. There must, therefore be a point of view from which Helios and Apollo are the same. Perhaps it was the comparison of the Sun to a golden apple in the firmament that caused the identification and led to the participation in honours.

Now let us turn to a fragment of the lyric poet Timotheus : we find a striking example of the fusion of the two divinities in the following lines :

Apollo-Helios

σὺ τ' ὦ τὸν αἰὲ πόλον οὐράνιον
λαμπραῖς ἀκτίσιν Ἀλὶε βάλλων,
πέμψον ἑκαβόλον ἐχθροῖς βέλος
σᾶς ἀπὸ νευρᾶς, ὦ ἱεῖ παιάν.

—*Anth. Lyr. Gr.*, p. 297.

Here Helios, who is always striking the pole of the heaven with his rays, is invoked, as Apollo, to send his far-darting dart from his string : the language shows that the arrows are the primary missiles, and the solar rays are secondary ; and the assonance between the *Far-darter* and the *dart* makes it clear that the Apolline title was bestowed, when the dart became an arrow. Thus the arrow is the true symbol of Apollo.

The adjectives which are applied to the god confirm this conclusion ; e.g., Apollo is addressed as

ἐκηβόλε, τοξοβέλεμνε

—*Orphic Hymns*, 34.

Nor should we fail to note that in the line quoted, and in all the early Hyperborean references, the "arrow" is still a "missile" (βέλος), not yet differentiated by title from a javelin or a "dart." In a fragment, for instance, of Lycurgus, we are told that Abaris went all round Hellas with the arrow which was the token of Apollo (μετὰ τοῦ βέλους) and used it for purposes of Divination (κρατῶν

τὸ βέλος ὡς σύμβολον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τοξότης γὰρ οὗτος ὁ θεός). See *Oratores Attici: fragmenta*, ii. 368.

The golden arrow which Hecataeus tells us Abaris took from the temple of Apollo in Hyperborea is, of course, responsible for the title χρυσεοβέλεμνε given to the god in the Orphic hymns.

With regard to Abaris himself we are still in somewhat of a perplexity over his name. It would be natural to suppose that it represented his relation to Apollo, or to some function or property of Apollo, such as his arrow, his apple, his swan, or his divining rod. For instance, the name *Abaris* appears to be a parallel to *Toxaris* and we actually find Apollo described as *Toxaērēs*: but where shall we find anything relating to Apollo in the stem *Aba-*? Perhaps it may help us that one of the most famous centres of divination by the oracle of Apollo was at Abai on the Malian gulf, in which case we should have identified the last station on the Sacred Way leading to Delphi. This would be parallel to Apollonia on the Gulf of Corinth for the Via Sacra from the West. But how can Abai denote Apollo or his properties. Hesychius suggests that

$${}^*Αβα = τροχός,$$

so that perhaps it is the solar wheel that is involved, which is so often represented on pre-historic monuments. This is, as yet, too uncertain a parallel, to justify the use of the "wheel" for the explanation of our ambassador's name: so we leave the matter for future elucidation.

A question may be asked with regard to the island Helixioia, which we have provisionally identified with Helig-oland. How could Hecataeus or his sources ever have said that Heligoland was larger than Sicily; what did they know of the size of Sicily, or he of the size of Heligoland? Even if we allow for centuries of erosion, Heligoland would still be an island for wild birds rather than for civilised man. We suggest that Hecataeus got confused in his geography between Heligoland and Great Britain. In the ancient maps, our island is a three-cornered affair, exactly like Sicily, and certain on that account to have invited comparison with the other Trinacria. In many ways it would have suited us to identify Great Britain as Helixioia, for then Stonehenge would have been the Solar temple; but there is no reason to suppose that the Wild Swans ever

frequented the Wiltshire downs. So we suggest that Hecatæus made a mistake in transcribing his geographical notes.

What he said of Sicily may be important, if a comparison was really made between the one island and the other. Here is a something that suggests an early invasion of the Mediterranean by the Kelts. The name of the Land's End in the earliest Greek geographers is *Belerion*, which is preserved in modern nomenclature as *Pelurrian*. The promontory of Sicily which runs out at the Straits of Messina is known to the Greeks as *Pelōron* : it has been commonly supposed that this name (the *Monster*) referred to Scylla on the opposite shore :¹ it is, however, suspiciously like a Keltic importation.

The perception that the arrow was a distance weapon, was suggested by Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, ii. 290 : "Apollon ist immer vorzugsweise der Schütze, der Ferntreffer, d. h. der aus der Ferne sicher Treffende geblieben, daher die alten Beinamen u. s. w." There does not appear, however, to be any idea, on Preller's part, that the prominence given to the arrow was an evolutionary necessity, or that it marked a forward step in civilisation.

II. APOLLO, HELIOS AND HERAKLES.

Our previous investigation into the relation between Apollo and the Swans of whom he is the patron has restored to reality a number of traditions which appeared to be wholly legendary. We have shown that the swans were real swans, who found one of their points of migration on a real island, where there was a temple of a deity, a god who, like the swans, was himself a migrant from Northern seas to Southern lands and shrines (probably from Heligoland to Delphi and Delos).

In this Northern temple there was a divinised arrow, a golden arrow, the symbol, no doubt, of the god worshipped there, who may be taken as the apotheosis of that hunter-inventor to whom civilisation owes the weapon in question, and who is named after it the *Far-darter* (ἐκατηβόλος) or *Far-operator* (ἐκάεργος). Having then thrown some light upon the god of light, we now propose to cast a ray or two upon the Sun himself, considered as a natural object of adoration.

¹ Cf. Homer : *Od.* 12⁸⁷ αὐτὴ δ' αὖτε πέλωρ κακόν.

It is well known that in Greek Mythology, Apollo and Helios are closely related deities, in fact almost interchangeable, so that their cults exist side by side, and sometimes their sanctuaries are common. This dual relationship is a difficult one to explain. My first thought (and it may after all be correct) was that, as I had proved the equivalence, in a former enquiry, of Apollo and the Apple-tree, it was permissible to consider that the Sun itself might, to the primitive mind, look like a great apple hung in the firmament. This not unnatural hypothesis appeared to have a philological confirmation in the fact that, according to Hesychius, the name of Helios in Cretan was ἄβελιος, which seemed to be very near that of Apollo in certain areas, as, for instance, when he is called *Abellio* in the Pyrenees. My learned friends, however, protest against this identification, so we are left with our hypothetical apple-tree unpropped by the supports of etymology. This does not mean that the hypothesis is unsupported or unsupportable; there may be confirmation in other directions for the Solar Apple.

In this, and in similar quests, (as we need to remind ourselves and others) we are working on a paucity of material with a plenitude of imagination. Our written documents are a handful of traditions (like those we dealt with from Hecataeus regarding the Hyperboreans and the priest-ambassador Abaris), *plus* a collection of carved symbols relating to the Solar or the Apolline cults. But the documents, though not voluminous, may bear valuable matter.

For instance, we find, on the monuments of certain prehistoric tribes, delineations, on the same stone, of the solar wheel or disc and of the swan whom we have already identified with the worship of Apollo. The swan, then, is common property in two cults, and we have another confirmation of the equivalence of Apollo and Helios. But where shall we turn to for supporting proof when the anthropologist fails us, and tombs and monuments and rock-carvings are scanned in vain? The answer is that we fall back on Folk-lore, and learn to rewrite into intelligible and modern forms the tales which are told of all mankind, from China to Peru.

The process has its pitfalls, and we enter upon our present enquiry with feelings akin to those of the storm-tost mariners in the Acts of the Apostles, who were afraid that they might be driven on to the African sand-banks: for us the dread is the great Syrtis of Max-müllerism, where the carcases of many a tall ship lie buried. Heaven help us if

we are drifting that way ! Here is a little tale which is told in the Bukovina, and is to be found in the *Bukowinaer Tales and Legends* of Von Wlislöcki.¹

There was a golden-haired youth of such beauty that his parents thought he had all the characteristics of a Solar Hero, that he was, in fact, more than a prince, being the incarnation of Heaven itself. His parents dreamt that a girl all dressed in red came to them and said that, if they wanted their son to be the Solar Hero in deed, and not only in name, they should let him go and search for the Tree of the Sun, and when he found it, pluck a golden apple and bring it home. The prince searched and at last found the tree, and the girl in red appeared to him and told him to guard it nine days and nine nights from the ravages of two black wolves. If he did not succeed, the Sun would kill him. On the eighth day he failed and fell asleep and the tree was damaged, but a fairy had put all things, except one, under a spell not to kill him, and the Sun had only one instrument to use against him. In the end, however, when hunting he stooped to drink, and a crab, (the only thing not under the spell) tore out his tongue and he died.

When we hear a tale of this kind, we at once recognise some threads of familiar narrative. How like the Prince is, in some respects, to Balder the Beautiful, whose life was talismaned against the ill-will of all creatures, except the mistletoe ! This is curious, and to us significant, for Balder is our Northern Apollo.

But there is more in the tale than that. The Sun appears in possession of a tree with golden apples on it, which the Solar Hero is to plunder. In our study entitled the *Origin of the Cult of Apollo* we showed that Balder was etymologically the same thing as Apple-Tree, and that the beautiful Balder was the northern Apollo. Here then, in the Bukovina, we find, in combination, the Sun, the Sun-Hero, the Apple-tree, and the Apple-God. The concurrence of the elements in the story can be explained at once by our hypothesis that the Sun is itself a red apple on the top of an apple-tree.

Naturally, such a fruit in such a position lends itself to the creation of the myth as to its being the food of the gods. Happy the man who can attain to it : its self is food and eke drink, it is the northern ambrosia and nectar.

¹ Also in Andrew Lang's *Yellow Fairy-Book*.

When we ask how this tree is to be found and how robbed, another Solar Hero comes on the scene. Who has not heard of the golden apples that grew in the West, in a garden watched by a great serpent, and tended by three or four fair-maids; Heracles he hight, that must find that tree, in the Atlas mountain or wherever it might be. That is one story of Heracles and his apple-hunting. But there is another which comes nearer to the original form. Heracles is said, by the Greeks, to have, once upon a time, endeavoured to shoot the sun. He threatened him with his arrow, whereupon the Luminary, to make peace with the aggressor, and prevent the light of man from extinction, lends Heracles the golden boat in which he made his nocturnal journey by the ocean stream from West to East. When we recall the other story of Heracles going to the West in search of apples, it is not unreasonable to suggest that his intention was to bring that Solar apple down by a well-directed shot.¹ Thus Heracles is introduced into the cycle of Solar Myths, and grouped with Helios and Apollo, and Balder and the Apple-Tree.

The latter story is so important for our enquiry that we must examine it more in detail. In passing we remark that the fancy of shooting the sky is found elsewhere. Herodotus tells us that the Getae in Thracia used to shoot their arrows heavenward in threat to the god, believing that they could, in this way, kill the Thunder and Lightning.² But to return to Heracles: the story of his relations with Helios is as follows: ³ Heracles drew his bow on the Sun as if he were going to shoot, and Helios bid him desist, which he did, under fear of Helios. Thereupon Helios compensated him by giving him the golden cup (δέπας) in which he and his horses used to go on the Ocean tract from West to East. The story, of course, has embellishments. Not knowing why Herakles should want to shoot the Sun, one writer³ suggests that he lost his temper from being over-heated! Another suggests that Herakles got the cup through the intervention of Oceanus himself, presumably because he was, as the all-night pilot of Helios,

¹ This suggestion I owe to Mr. A. B. Cook.

² Herod. 4, 94. οὗτοι δὲ αὐτοὶ Θρήκες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀπειλεύσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

³ The source is a fragment of Pherecydes, preserved in Athenæus 470 C; cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.*, i. 80.

³ Apollodorus, *Bibl.* ii. v. 10.

on good terms with his celestial majesty. When we remove the obvious accretions, it seems clear that the Solar Hero claims the right to go round the world or the islands of the West in the same manner as the Sun himself.

It will be interesting at least to the student of Folk-lore, if we now turn aside from our main theme to see how the legend of Herakles and the Solar Boat has discoloured popular story-telling.

In the recently published volume of Caucasian Folk-tales, collected by Adolf Dirr, there is a story entitled *The Rose of Paradise*. It tells how the daughter of a peasant desired to possess a rose of paradise, which grew in the garden of a Div. She got the rose, and was forthwith pursued and imprisoned by the Div, who designed to destroy her cruelly. In her prison, *the Rose of Paradise* (for so she must now be called) discovered "a coffin, in which lay the body of a handsome youth, the son of the king of that country. *He had one day shot at the sun*, and from that time had been dead during the day, though he came to life every night. His father had built the little house, and put the coffin with his dead-alive son into it. Every evening the prince came alive, left his coffin, ate the food that had been brought him, and in the morning laid himself again in his coffin." No need to pursue the story further. It is clear that the beautiful youth is a Solar Hero, who, like Herakles, shoots at the Sun. He does not get off on such easy terms, but the story suggests something of an arrangement between the youth, and the Sun whom he has offended. When the Sun passes to his daily death, the youth arises; it is much the same as saying that the Sun and his hero alternate; when the one is not using the boat, the other may. Only, it will be noticed, the boat has now become a coffin, that is, in Greek language, *a basket*.

We return now to Heracles and his story; to find, to our surprise, that a basket figures in it also. In the various forms in which the Heraklean legend has come down to us, the Cup of the Sun is described as a dish (δέπας), a bowl (φιάλη), a cauldron (λέβης). The pertinent point is that they all agree in putting the Sun to sea in a circular boat. If we look at the attached representation of an early red-figured Attic vase,¹ we shall see what Herakles looked like when

¹ See Gerhard, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, ii. pl. 109.

he was afloat. Clearly he is afloat, for the little fishes and octapodies are swimming round him. And he has been shooting the Sun or threatening to do so, for his bow is in his hand; his club identifies his person, the bow betrays his recent action. It will be agreed that he is not beautiful; the word *καλός* which the artist has written over his head, refers to the Art-work and not to his subject. And, as we have said, the ship is round. When we ask the reason for this seemingly irrational specimen of nautical architecture, the answer is that "In the beginning" men put out to sea, not only in dug-out canoes



but in circular wicker baskets. Navigation with these began on rivers, and gradually extended seawards. *They are yet in use on the Severn and the Dee and till recently on the Menai Straits.*¹ Consequently, when men speculated as to how the Sun was to find his way round from West to East, they concluded that the great River, named Ocean, would carry him, if he got into a coracle; he could even carry his horses with him for use next morning on the other side of the world. This is why we see Herakles represented as being transported on water, but his vessel should have been, not the

¹ Also on the Spey and in Donegal, etc.

round goblet in which we see him, but a wicker basket such as our ancestors used.

May we go further and say that this sort of sailing vessel belongs primarily to the West, that it is Keltic and præ-Keltic? The hypothesis is an attractive one; travelling by the ocean stream is not an idea that would readily occur to an inland people. It will be well, however, to go slowly. Circular boats are still in use on the Tigris at Bagdad. They go by the name *Belem*, a word which is neither Arabic nor Syriac. The suggestion of a non-Semitic origin is natural, but will it take us from the Tigris to the Ocean River? We note, in passing, that these boats and the associated rafts (supported on inflated goat skins) are represented on Assyrian monuments. The



raft is now-a-days called *Kellik*, and this again is non-Semitic. We have ourselves traversed the Cañon of the Upper Euphrates on such a *Kellik*. It is a very ancient mode of navigation. But who invented it? The *coracle* of the Western seas and rivers is a diminutive of the Keltic *curragh* [Latinised by Adamnan as *curruca*] and this suggests some relation to the Mesopotamian *kellik*. The accompanying reproduction of a modern Iraq stamp will assist the imagination as to the transport of men and animals in a coracle; we can see that Herakles could transport the oxen of Geryon, and Helios could take his own team of horses with him from West to East.¹

We have now shown the intimate connection between Apollo,

¹ The border of the stamp is adorned with cowry-shells, the small change of the India currency.

Helios and the Solar Hero Herakles. The bow of Herakles is a companion to the arrow of Apollo, and we may find traces of an original common sanctuary for one and the other.

There is a story, told by Apollodorus, of Philocrates the Greek hero, who founded a settlement in Campania, near Croton and Thurium. His own migrations being over, he built a sanctuary of the Migrant Apollo (Ἀπόλλων Ἀλαιοῦς) to whom also he dedicated his bow. Here then is a tradition of a sacred bow in a temple of Apollo, corresponding to that of the sacred arrow in the Hyperborean temple. Not only so, but the bow was said to be that of Herakles himself. For we learn from Aristotle (*Mirab. Auscult.* 107) that Philoctetes, was divinised in Campania, and that at a place called Maculla he had dedicated the bow of Herakles in the temple of Apollo Halaios. And the people of Croton carried off the sacred bow and lodged it in their own temple of Apollo.¹ It seems natural to conclude that the bow and the arrow which we have been considering are inventions earlier in time than the deities to whom they are dedicated. The divinisation of weapons is one of the earliest forms of devotion in an advancing culture; the temple and the deity to whom the sacred weapons belong may very well be a later development.

It is possible that our study of the inter-relation of this group of deities may lead to the explanation of the name of Abaris, that ambassador of Apollo who came across Europe from Hyperborea to Delos. It looks as if the name ought to have some cult value. Legend tells us that when Herakles borrowed the Solar Boat in order to seize the oxen of Geryon, he lodged on his first landing across the strait on Mt. Abas; such a piece of mythical Geography, when coupled with the explanation of *Abaris* as meaning the one that has no boat (βάρις), suggests that the ancients, like ourselves, had been speculating over Abaris, and that they connected him with Herakles as well as with Apollo.

III. WHY NOT BRITAIN ?

In the foregoing investigation in which we tried to trace the locality of Apollo's Northern Temple, we were inclined to identify the unknown island on which it once stood, and to which Hecataeus refers,

¹ See Frazer, *Apollodorus*, ii. 261.

with Heligoland. That island, as we have shown, has been for ages an important centre in the migration of the Wild Swans, and its name is not incapable of an etymological identification with Helixioia, of which Hecatæus tells us, or religiously with the worship of Apollo.

The most serious objection to this supposition, however, is the fact that, in the existing records, a parallel is drawn between the island of the Temple and the island of Sicily. Even if we allow for the changes made by the erosion of ages, by the North Sea (an erosion which is still going on), it is very unlikely that Heligoland at any time resembled Sicily either in shape or dimension. On the other hand, and as though to justify at once a transference of interest, there is abundant proof that the early geographers and cartographers imagined Great Britain as triangular in form, a fact from which the Sicilian parallel was almost inevitable.

When Julius Cæsar in his Gallic campaigns comes to the point where he contemplates the crossing of the Channel, and the invasion of Britain, he thus describes the country :

"The natural shape of the island is triangular, and one side lies opposite to Gaul. Of this side one angle which is in Kent (where almost all the ships from Gaul come in to land), faces the east, the lower angle faces south. . . . This side stretches about five hundred miles. The second side bears towards Spain and the west, in which direction lies Ireland, smaller by one half, as it is thought, than Britain ; the sea-passage is of equal length to that from Gaul to Britain. Here in mid-channel is an island called Man ; in addition, several smaller islands are supposed to lie close to land, as touching which some have written that, in midwinter, night, there, lasts for thirty whole days. We could discover nothing about this by enquiries ; but by exact water measurements,¹ we observed that the nights were shorter than on the Continent. The length of this side, according to the belief of the natives, is seven hundred miles. The third side bears northward, and has no land confronting it ; the angle, however, of that side faces on the whole toward Germany. The side is supposed to be eight hundred miles long."—Cæsar, *De bell Gall.*, v. 13.

Mr. Edwards, whose translation we have been quoting, recognises that Cæsar has been reading the account which Pytheas of Marseilles gives of his great northern journey. That being so, it shows that Britain must have been regarded from very early times as a triangular shaped island, with three necessary promontories, a true Trinacria which, sooner or later, would suggest comparison with Sicily.²

¹ I.e. the Water clock.

² Tacitus (*Agricola* 10) compares it to an axe-head (*bipennis*).

At this point we remember that Homer also knew of an island which he calls *Thrinakie*, to which Odysseus comes after he has escaped from the charms of Circe, and is on his way to meet the Sirens and the perils of Scylla and Charybdis. This *Trinacria* is always identified by commentators with Sicily on account of the adjacent Scylla and Charybdis; we have, however, removed the corner stone from the edifice of the Odyssean identification in the Mediterranean, by taking Scylla and Charybdis into the Northern seas; and the Homeric commentator, who consents to our reasoning, is now, in honour, bound to admit the existence of a three-cornered island in the Northern Ocean. But this is what Pytheas is credited with having discovered. We may boldly say that in this description of a triangular Britain Pytheas has followed with Homer in the track of earlier voyagers. *These seas were navigated in much earlier times than has commonly been supposed.* Britain is the Trinacria of the North. It was here that the companions of Odysseus found the tabooed herds of oxen belonging to Helios, which is another way of saying that there was a solar temple in Britain, and that the priests who had charge of it, possessed both "land and beeves," like Mr. Justice Shallow in Shakespeare, as is customary with magistrates and priests the world over. *Was the temple Stonehenge?*

Now let us return to Hecatæus and his Holy Isle, which he compares with Sicily.

The first thing we note is that the parallel between the two islands must have been noted before the time of Pytheas; and if Hecatæus stands sponsor for the comparison, we may surely expect that the early geographers not only said that Britain and Sicily are of like dimensions, but also similar in shape.

The Greek tradition is constant for a triangular Britain, and they even knew, or invented, names for the principal promontories. From Diodorus Siculus and from Ptolemy we learn that we may call the Eastern promontory Cantion, the Western Belerion or Bolerion, and the Northern Orcas. It is customary to identify these with the N. Foreland in Kent, the Land's End in Cornwall, and with Cape Wrath or some other projection of the Scottish coast towards the Orkneys. Now this is extremely interesting, because of the survival of these names in our own day. Cantion betrays at once the county

of Kent, Orcas has something to do with the Orcades or Orkney islands : but what of Belerion ?

I have just been staying in a hotel near the Lizard Point in Cornwall, which is called the Pelurrian. It is evident, if (as we think) the word is a truly local one, that the name Pelurrian is the same as the Belerion of Ptolemy and Diodore, and presumably of Pytheas and even earlier geographers.

But this is not all that leaps to light from our identification. The promontory in Sicily that marks the entrance to the Straits of Messina on the North, is called *Peloron*, which can only be the same name as *Pelurrian*, with the least possible variation. It was one of Victor Bérard's strong points in his book on the Odyssey, that Peloron, which in Greek means "a monster" was so called on account of its proximity to the rock of Skylla.¹ The name, however, is Keltic, or some closely related dialect ; it is not Greek. Bearing in mind the importance, by their persistence, of place-names, as a guide to the migrations and settlements of populations, we say that Sicily shows signs of having been originally a Keltic or Ligurian colony, before ever the Greeks came into the Mediterranean. Astonishing as this conclusion may seem, it agrees with the evidence of tradition on the one hand, and of Archæology on the other. These unite to show that Sicily was settled, in the first instance, by the Ligures and the Sikeli. The Ligures are a branch of the Keltic family.

Returning to Britain, we notice further, that the common explanation that the Belerion of Ptolemy is the Land's End will not hold, in view of our recent discovery. Pelurrian is the name of a cove, but it is a cove a few miles from the Lizard Point, and very many miles from the Land's End. The confusion was natural to the early geographer ; our modern maps are better equipped with latitude and longitude lines than those of Ptolemy or Pytheas. They looked for the Lands End at the farthest West : but if they had looked for the

¹ "Un calembour fit de Skylla un monstre horrible, pelor. . . . En face de Skylla, en effet, la côte sicilienne projette un long promontoire qui, durant toute l'antiquité et jusqu'à nos jours, a porté le nom de *Peloros*, *Pelorus*, *Peloro*. Ce nom paraît n'avoir présenté déjà aucun sens aux navigateurs classiques."—Berard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*, ii. 356.

The Greeks did not regard it as the name of a Monster ; the coins of Messana show the head of a beautiful nymph, named Pelorias ; she is the genius of the shore !

promontory *at the farthest South*, where a coasting vessel would turn northward, it would have been evident at a glance that Pelurrian is the Lizard and not the Land's End. Belerion, as Cæsar says, faces southward. To make sure that the name was an ancient one, I enquired of the fishermen what they called this particular cove at the head of which the Pelurrian hotel is situated, and they told me, (what was otherwise confirmed from the oldest inhabitants), that they called it *B'lorrian*, almost exactly as in the old Greek maps. Britain, then, to the ancients was a Trinacria, and its shape was triangular, with Keltic or related names for its principal promontories.¹ It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the island might be the one referred to, in the traditional story of Apollo's Northern temple. Our identification with Heligoland assumes that Hecatæus had made a geographical confusion between Britain and Helixioia, and had credited the dimensions of one island to the other.

The really important objection to a British identification arises from the matter of the migrating swans. There is no place for these on Salisbury Plain; we might imagine them on the Norfolk Broads, for they still frequent those waters, but there is no water on the Wiltshire downs where a swan could swim. Now and then a few wild swans fly across the middle of England to the Thames, but there is no known heliolithic temple in the Thames valley. So we conclude, provisionally, against such an identification.

The final decision cannot yet be made. There may be other factors in the solution over and above those we have dealt with. Some will object to the location of Fosete (our quasi-Apollo) in Heligoland, and will maintain that the proper home of his cult is in one of the Frisian islands. On that point further light may be cast by renewed investigation, but for the present we see no reason to doubt that Fosete is the true divinity of Heligoland.

It may be worth while observing, in this connection, that there is no need to regard either Heligoland or a Frisian island as too small to be credited with such great religious influence. Sanctity has nothing to do with size. In the far-off Hebrides, in the Uist group, there is an island which till the eighteenth century was regarded by the natives

¹ This statement requires some further scrutiny: Ptolemy has the Lizard promontory as well as the Land's End. We will add a Supplementary note dealing with his description of W. Cornwall.

as so sacred that they would not even venture to cut turf on it. What is more remarkable still, as relating to our subject, is the fact that it was a Wild Swan Island. The reader may care to have the reference for our statement, which is in Martin's *Description of the Western Isles* (A.D. 1705), p. 71 [Island Lingay] :

"The swans come hither in great numbers in the month of October, with north-east winds, and live in the fresh lakes, where they feed upon trout and water plants till March, at which time they fly away again with a south-west wind. When the natives kill a swan it is common for the eaters of it to make a negative vow (i.e., they swear to do something that is in itself impracticable) before they taste of the fowl.

"This island was held as consecrated for several ages, so much that the natives would not presume to cut any fuel in it."

IV. WHY NOT THE HEBRIDES ?

If we are to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of the location of the northern temple and island sanctuary of Apollo, we must keep an open mind for the possibility of an alternative or a better identification than the one for which we have already expressed a preference. We have stated briefly the claims of Great Britain and Stonehenge as against Heligoland and the temple of Fosete, but there may be other solutions. The mere mention of Stonehenge reminds us of the fact that we are dealing with prehistoric matters and working over the remains of neolithic times. And this remembrance is reinforced from the reflection that the temple of Apollo was connected in some way with the discovery and divinisation of the arrow. That discovery and fetish-worship generally takes us a long way back.

We may consider further that the civilisation of which we find traces in Northern and Western seas has been acquiring, in modern researches, a unity as well as an antiquity of its own. Wherever we find the stone circles and the related stone avenues we infer that they indicate a common culture, whether in Brittany, in Wiltshire, in the Orkneys, or in Iceland. They represent not merely the culture which is now commonly called helioculture, but also culture in migration and self-propagation in quest of products which were not sufficiently found in the lands from which the migration emanated. It is evident, for example, in view of recent discoveries in Portugal, and related finds in Ireland, that the quest for gold, and other desirable objects, brought civilisation along the Atlantic seaboard into the Irish Sea and beyond,

at a date when Britain itself was not so much visited. Such considerations show us that we must not exclude from our minds the possibility of finding the Hyperboreans in Ireland or in the Hebrides.

It will, no doubt, surprise our readers, as it did ourselves, at first, to find that this possible solution had been proposed as far back as the beginning of the eighteenth century, and had been defended with an amount of erudition and apt quotation to which the twentieth century has little to add. The author to whom we refer is the celebrated Toland, and his identification is the Hebrides, with the island of Lewis as a special centre of preference on account of its containing the remains of one of the great neolithic temples of antiquity, known to-day as the Callernish stones.

It requires courage to re-introduce Toland to the notice of modern scholars, because of a certain artificial cloud of detraction which accompanies his name. He was probably one of the most detested theologians of his day, and it is only by reading him without prejudice that one finds out what a splendid scholar he was, and how perfectly fair in his treatment alike of the themes he discussed and of the adversaries whom he refuted. That he should suffer from detraction, and from the poverty to which detraction leads the way, was natural enough. He had exploded the Royal Authorship of the *Eikon Basilike*, and so had brought upon himself the undying hatred of one political party. Add to this the fact that in his writings he never spared the pretensions of priests and priestcraft, and we can understand why to the present day, he has been covered with obloquy and regarded as little better than an infidel. In reality, he was only a very modest anticipation of a modernist, and to all appearance, a humble Christian.

Let us then see what Toland says of Hyperborea and of Abaris, or, if we prefer, what others say of Toland and his Hyperborean Island. The best modern book on the Hebrides is Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides*,¹ in which we find the following observations :—

“The apotheosis of the Callernish stones [in the I. of Lewis] was reached when Toland, an Irishman and a Presbyterian, who was born in 1670 and died in 1722, wrote his history of the Druids, a famous work in its time and still occasionally quoted. Toland had been reading Martin's account of the Callernish remains, and had seized upon that description as

¹ Paisley 1913, p. xxvi.

yielding strong proof of his pet theories about the Druidic cult. He found no difficulty in believing that the "temple stood astronomically" (a view also held by modern antiquarians), denoting the twelve signs of the zodiac, the four principal winds subdivided each into four others, by which, and the nineteen stones on each side the avenue, betokening the cycle of nineteen years." He goes on to say that "he can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the sun; but subordinately to the seasons and elements, particularly to the sea and the winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle." The resemblance of the central stone to a rudder was a fancy of Martin's, who little foresaw that it would be seized upon by a prophet of the Druids to guide his reasoning faculties into an abyss of conjecture. . . .

"But Toland went further than enumerating mere generalities. He convinced himself, and probably others, that the Callernish stones are neither more nor less than the remains of the temple of Apollo in the Hyperborean island so celebrated in Greek literature. He claimed Hecataeus as an authority for this theory, and perhaps had as much reason on his side as those who have located the Hyperborean temple of the ancient Greeks at, respectively, Anglesea and Stonehenge. According to Toland, then, the Hyperboreans of the ancients were Lewismen, and Apollo's arrow was hidden in the island of Lewis. . . . In the same strain of reasoning, Toland did not hesitate to make the Druid Abaris a Lewisman; Abaris who paid a visit to Pythagoras, by whom he was taught the mysteries of the number seven. It is unkind of Archæology, with its contempt for romantic speculation, to demolish so pretty a theory."

We have quoted Mackenzie at length, as usefully summarising Toland, and also in order to show how superficially he has dealt with and dismissed Toland's theory. Where, for instance, is the archæological evidence that demolishes the possible theory of a Hebridean temple? If such evidence exists, it would apply equally to Stonehenge and Carnac. Toland may have been wrong in trying to associate the Druids with the civilisation which is represented by these ancient monuments; but he could not be wholly off the track, when Mackenzie himself admits that the astronomical origin of these temples is still a tenable hypothesis. Certainly it was so in the case of Stonehenge: and the parallel shows that the Hebridean temple had something to do with the marking of the seasons. Why should Mackenzie call Toland's enquiry an "abyss of conjecture"? For he admits that the I. of Lewis is not more irrational than Stonehenge, and Stonehenge is undoubtedly, as Toland would say, "principally dedicated to the sun." It is, therefore, we think, unjust to regard Toland's essay as an irrational product. He may be, now and then, fantastic; but, on the whole, he is a trustworthy and interesting writer.

It is specially praiseworthy that he has so keen an instinct for the antiquity of the archaic culture he is trying to recover. Take, for proof, the following sentences :—

Toland, *History of the Druids*, p. 169.

"'Tis certain that the more ancient Grec writers, such as Hecatæus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius (not to speak of Dicearchus and others), knew a great deal of truth concerning the British Islands: by reason of the frequent navigations of the Greeks into these parts, after the way was shown them by the Phenicians. . . . But this commerce being interrupted for several ages afterwards, the later writers did not only themselves vend abundance of fables about these northern parts of the world: but treat as fabulous what their Predecessors had recorded with no less honesty than exactness."

P. 177. "I have by good authorities shown before, that the ancientest Grec writers had much greater certainty, and knew many more particulars, concerning the British Islands, even the most remote and minute, than such as came after them; by reason that the Grecian trade hither, open'd first by the Phenicians, had been for a long time interrupted, or rather quit abandon'd."

It is important to observe that, even if our author is somewhat prone to exaggeration, his perceptions are right. He sees that the Hebrides contain memorials of an earlier civilisation than history has taken adequate account of. He may excite ridicule by trying to supply the lack himself, in terms of Phenicians and of prehistoric Greek voyages, but he was looking in the right direction; he was trying to evaluate a folk-memory. This should be constantly kept in mind when we are studying such traditions as are found in Hecatæus and the other Greek authors who deal with Hyperborea. For instance Martin, whom Toland follows and sometimes surpasses, was the first to emphasise the fertility of the Hebrides and the mildness of the climate. Toland accentuates this, no doubt because he has the Greek tradition about the islands where snow never falls and the fertility is phenomenal. If we ask how far these descriptions may be regarded as correct, the answer is, for us moderns, in terms of that invisible benefactor, the Gulf Stream. It is this force that explains even to-day the difference, in climate, between the East and the West of Scotland, but it does not explain the Folk-Memory to which we referred. If, however, we assume that there was a time, say at the break-up of the Glacial Period, when the Gulf Stream was going so much stronger as to be seen as well as felt (the supposition is quite within the bounds of possibility),

we should not only have reason to believe in an abnormal fertility of the Western Islands, but we could also explain a primitive perplexity in the Geography of the Ancients, viz. the question as to why the Ocean was depicted as a stream that ran round the outer edge of the known world. It would be the Gulf Stream as it was, that was perpetuated in popular memory ; and the Western Sea would be marked, not by the rise and fall of the tide, but by the greater flux of a beneficent current from the tropics ; the Folk-Memory of which was in the minds of the Early Geographers, though Herodotus would have none of it.

There is nothing irrational in the suggestion that the Gulf Stream is capable of recognition in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean which it traverses. We may stimulate our imagination by what Wyville Thomson says of its appearance in the present day :—¹

“The Gulf Stream, as it issues from the Strait of Florida, and expands into the ocean on its northward course, is probably the most glorious natural phenomenon on the face of the earth. The water is of a clear crystalline transparency and intense blue, and long after it has passed into the open sea it keeps itself apart, easily distinguished by its warmth, its colour, and its clearness ; and with its edges so sharply defined that a ship may have her stem in the clear blue stream, while her stern is still in the common water of the ocean.”

This vivid description may help us to understand what the Gulf Stream may have been like in Post-Glacial times.

A secondary, but not unimportant, piece of evidence which the great river gives of itself, may be found in the transfer of tropical wood and plants which is going on even at the present day from Mexico to the coast of Ireland and to Spitzbergen.

These suggestions are made in order to show that Toland was not a man to be derided, when he talked mythology or geography. He may have carried the Druid identifications too far, in making them priests of Apollo and the mysterious Abaris one of their number, but for the purpose of our enquiry we have no quarrel with him. We think his opinion that the Hyperborean island was the island of Lewis, or one of its neighbours, is not to be hastily set aside. We have ourselves shown that there was an island to the North of Lewis, that was

¹ *The Depths of the Sea*, p. 382.

until quite recently taboo, and frequented by the wild swans. What occurred in one island may have happened at an earlier date in the other. Thus much in vindication of Toland, of whom we think nobly, even if we do not decide to leave Heligoland for the Hebrides.

V. CIRCE, CALYPSO AND THE ODYSSEAN ISLANDS.

When we were discussing Helios and his under-world or extra-world journeys from West to East, carried in his *curragh* or *coracle* by the Ocean stream, from one day's task to the next, we came across Circe the enchantress who turned the companions of Odysseus into swine. She lived in an island which Homer calls *Aiaie*; an island which must, from our new point of view, be located not in the Mediterranean but in the Northern and Western seas. Circe's island is somewhere in the Ocean stream. She is the daughter of Helios himself: and we are told by the Greek poet Stesichoros, that when Helios has done his day's work, he goes, in his circular boat to visit his mother, his bride, and his sons and daughters. Here is the passage:

ἄμος δ' Ὑπεριονίδας δέπας ἑσκατέβαινεν
 χρύσειον, ὅφρα δι' Ὀκεάνοιο περάσας
 ἀφίκουθ' ἱερὰς ποτὶ βένθεα νυκτὸς ἑρεμνᾶς
 ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον παῖδας τε φίλους
 etc., etc.

—(ed. Kaibel, p. 37).

If Helios is going to visit his family, he will begin in the West, with Circe, and with *Aiaie* as a point of departure. But where, we ask, is the rest of the family? The answer is that they are in another island named *Aia*, which is situated where the sun rises. This island is under the control of Circe's brother whose name is *Aietes*, and familiar to us as the father of Medea. Thus we have the royal family at both ends of the line; and since tradition makes the real name of Circe's island to be *Aia* and not the Homeric reduplicated form, we have to assume that the island *Aia* has a double position; it lies both East and West, unless these should providentially prove to be the same, in which case the confusion disappears.

We have already suggested that the reduplicated form in Homer is due to the fact that we are in Scandinavian waters, where *ay* and *ey* are the proper terms to describe an island, as in the Norse names

Guernsey, Jersey, etc., with the various Orkn-ey and Shetland Islands, such as Stronsay, Rousay, and the like. The reduplication is then exactly similar to what we find in our own maps, which mark the island of Egg in the Hebrides, the word *Egg* being an Anglicanism for *Eigh*, which is the same thing as the Norse *ey*. Thus Homer's *Aiaie* means island of *Aia*. This helps us over another difficulty. We have to explain how *Aia* has two positions, one East and one West. The absurdity will disappear if it is remembered that we have taken Odysseus into Northern lands: and it is one of the first of astronomical observations of the traveller into or towards Arctic regions that the sun sets and rises higher up on the horizon: the outgoings of the morning and the evening approach one another. If we go far enough north among the Cimmerians, Homer himself knows that they will coincide. If then, instead of speaking of East and West, we return to the original terms of Sunrise and Sunset, it is quite in order for the two to coincide, in which case the two islands *Aia* will meet and *Circe* will join her family.

The ancients were perplexed over this double location of the island, and resolved the difficulty in various ways. One was to put *Circe* in the far east, where she could share the island with *Medea* and the rest, after which she travelled, by special arrangement with her father *Helios* on his chariot from the far east to the far west; the goddess migrated, the island remained. We need not, however, occupy ourselves unduly with these mythological reconstructions. We assume that *Circe* lived on the island *Aia* in the West, and we explain the reduplication of the form in Homer in the simple manner described above.

This brings us to the next of the lady-loves of Odysseus and to the second of the Homeric islands. We have in the *Odyssey* the story of Odysseus and his intercourse with *Calypso*, with whom he spent seven years in an island called *Ogygia*. Much has been written about this island and its possible location and the meaning of its name. Our own explanation is a very simple one. Just as *Aiaia* is a reduplication of the Norse form for *island* so *Ogygia* is the reduplication of the Frisian word for the same. One has only to look at the names of the Frisian islands on a modern map to satisfy oneself that these commonly have the ending *-ooge* (*Langeooge*, *Spickerooge*, *Wangerooge*) which is easily seen to be the equivalent of island, and

related etymologically to the Norse *ey* [= *eigh*]. Thus *Ogygia* is a parallel formation to *Aiaia* and only means *I. of Island*. This statement may, at first be received sceptically. How, it may be asked, can we possibly believe that such an accidental coincidence in the formation of names affected two separate islands at two distinct parts of the story of *Odysseus*? We might allow the reduplication for *Circe's* island because we have in *Homer* and elsewhere the two forms attested, but it is quite another matter (so it will be said) to offer the same explanation, when confirmatory proof is lacking.

Let us, however, look at the matter more closely. Are we quite sure we are dealing with separate and unconnected matter in the *Circe* and *Calypso* incidents? It can hardly fail to excite suspicion that *Odysseus* is twice over described as caught in the toils of a love that makes him forget his house and home. Consequently critics of the Homeric narrative have laboured hard to prove that the *Calypso* story is a pendent to the *Circe* legend and actually derived from it. In this point of view the original story of the *Wandering and Return of Odysseus* had no *Calypso*: the lady is introduced in the interest of chronology, in order to allow *Odysseus* a sufficient number of years of enforced absence!

Even if this were correct, it would not explain the introduction of the Frisian island into what is, in part at least a Norse story. The unlikeliness of the *Ogygian* formation remains.

The only way out of the difficulty is to say that *Ogygia* and *Aiaia* are the same island, and *Calypso* and *Circe* the same person. In fact, we are dealing with the same folk-lore theme, which has come down through two channels to the *Odyssey*, one being Norse, the other Frisian. Two versions of the same tale have been used in the *Odyssey* as though they were independent. The solution is very simple, and, to us, appears complete. It explains the concurrence in the formation of the names, and it shows us why the critics were right in maintaining that the two stories could not be regarded as independent. It will probably occasion no surprise, if we state that, as in other instances of simplified tradition, we are not the first to take the steps towards a final solution. For example, *Propertius* has given to *Calypso* the adjective *Ææan*, which properly belongs to *Circe*. This is hardly an accidental exchange of geographical title, for in the same way *Aia* and *Ogygia* are interchanged (or shall we say equated) by

Pomponius Mela. The change should be noted and covered by a "valeat quantum."

Without going so far as to suggest that Circe and Calypso are the same person, O. Immisch in Roscher's *Lexicon* calls the latter the Doppelgängerin of the former, which is really all the equivalence that our theory requires. He also remarks acutely that the island of Calypso had no proper name, it was just *island*; for when Hermes is sent by Zeus to bid Calypso release her captive lover, we are told that Hermes came to the island, without any intimation either from the text, of Zeus' instruction or Hermes' own movements, as to what island. Consequently the critics have essayed to prove that *Ogygia* is not a name but an adjective; in this they have overshot the mark, as we have shown by recovering the true meaning of the word.

As to the location of the island of the nymph, we know that the Greeks found it off the coast of Southern Italy, along with the rest of the geography of the Wanderings. But that island whether we call it *Aia* or *Ogygia* is not in the Mediterranean at all; its name is older than Homer, older than the Greek Nation; it belongs to another race and to earlier days. After all, as the Egyptian priest said to Solon, the Greeks are but children, even when at their loveliest and best; and they are peculiarly child-like and elementary in their anthropology.

NOTE.—A reference to A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, i. 241 (note 14) will show that he has followed Immisch in regarding Kalypso as a doublet of Kirke. In particular he draws attention to the fact that Homer speaks, in both cases, of "a dread goddess endowed with human speech." We might add that each of the two ladies is capable of giving a wind to her parting lover.

Supplementary Note.

Was Belerion the Land's End or the Lizard? It is customary for those who write on the early geography of the British Isles to say that the promontory which went under the name of Belerion or Bolerion is either the Land's End or the adjacent Cape Cornwall: but we have suggested, on the evidence of a local place-name, that it is much more likely to have been the Lizard. The only objection to this that occurs to us is the fact that Ptolemy in his geography knows both the Land's End and the Lizard, and that he calls the former by the name of Belerion, the latter by the name of Okrion. Certainly, he

clearly distinguishes the one from the other : so if Ptolemy has the tradition of Pytheas and the other associated travellers intact, we ought to be very cautious in saying that Belerion is the Lizard. It must, however, be remembered that Ptolemy is a more minute geographer than those who preceded him, and that he shows on his map many promontories and rivers which belong to later observation. This applies to his description of the Lizard, which is supposed to be a Greek name, since *Okrion* (Ὀκριον), means 'jagged' in Greek, and is not an unsuitable adjective to apply to the Lizard projection.

Then, there is a further consideration ; all the traditions we have been able to collect, speak of Great Britain as being triangular in form ; and that suggests that there are not more than three promontories, in which case the sources of Ptolemy did not contain both the Land's End and the Lizard, and we are at liberty to speculate as to which of the two is covered by the title Belerion. In this connection it is interesting, (and especially to myself as a West Country man), to examine again the language in which Ptolemy describes the coast-line from the Land's End eastward. He writes as follows :

(Bk. ii. 2, 3.)

Ἀντιονέσταιον ἄκρον τὸ καὶ Βολέριον.
Δαμνόνιον τὸ καὶ Ὀκριον ἄκρον

The two promontories are, the one that faces West ; (Ptolemy calls it the Anti-West) which is also Bolerion : then comes the Damnonion promontory, which is also called Okrion. Then follows his description of the coast-line and of the rivers that one passes in going up the English Channel :

τῆς ἐφεξῆς μεσημβρινῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφή,
ἣ ὑποκεῖται Πρεταννικὸς Ὠκεανός·
μετὰ τὸ Ὀκριον ἄκρον.
Κενίωνος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί.
Ταμάρου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί.
Ἴσκα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί.

I.e. after passing the Lizard, you come to the mouth of the Kenyon, the mouth of the Tamar, and the mouth of the Exe.

German editors have been sorely exercised over these rivers : they could not place the Kenyon, for the distance assigned to it by Ptolemy would take one as far as the Tamar. So there are various speculations as to whether it was Fowey harbour that was intended or one of

the branches of the Tamar estuary. Let us see if we can solve the Ptolemaic riddle for the perplexed geographers.



At the head of the estuary of the Fal stands the city of Truro. Adjacent to it, on a high hill, is the parish of Kenwyn, from which flows down to the tidal water a stream that bears to-day the name

of this district. Evidently, then, what we now call the Fal was originally known as the Kenwyn river, and if so it would correspond exactly with the Kenyon river of Ptolemy. Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* had rightly identified it with Falmouth Harbour.

The attached map will make the identification quite clear.

The perplexities over the distances in Ptolemy is probably due to their having been calculated from the Land's End and referred, by an easy error, to the Lizard.

VI. CALYPSO A DAUGHTER OF THE SUN.

If the previous investigation is on right lines, and if we have correctly deduced the equivalence of the two lady-loves of Odysseus, it should follow that Calypso like Kirké is a daughter of Helios. For even if the story of the latter suggests to us a folktale that has come into Greece from Scandinavia, and the story of the former a story that has migrated from Frisia, Odysseus is the same person in either tale, and the same Sun should affect with paternal solicitude his two companions. Is there any way of verifying the Solar character of Calypso?

In the first place we remark that Calypso's name is genuinely Greek; so that if Homer has absorbed a Frisian tale in this part of the Odyssey, as appears from the name of the island where Calypso has her cave, the poet must have, for some reason, translated the name of the lady while leaving the name of the island unaltered.

Our first business, then, in quest of the sun-maiden or whatever else she may be, is to translate her back into Frisian. A reference to Koolman's *Wörterbuch der alt-friesischen Sprache* will tell us that the Frisian word *hâlen* means *to hide, cover, secrete*, etc., and that it has an early form *hela* corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon *helan*. This at once suggests to us that Calypso's real name was *Helan*, with a probable suffix-vowel. If we suppose that Homer had not used a translated form, the lady would have been known as Ἠλάνη. It would have been better to keep this form, for the actual Homeric form is a misunderstanding, natural if you like, but regrettable. We may be fairly sure of this from the fact that the untranslated word passed over into Greek, and was explained to us by Hesychius as meaning *λάμπας*, *a torch*. If we turn to Athenæus, (lib. xv. 61,

p. 557), we find the same statement ; " Homer calls torches (λαμπάδας) by the name of δεταιί: but a torch is also called 'Ελάνη, as Amerias says". From the fact that Hesychius makes the same conjunction—

'Ελάνη = λάμπας, δεταιή,

we may probably infer his dependence on Athenæus, but Athenæus has another, more obscure, authority for the equivalence ; so that we may say that if Calypso's real name is Helane, the proper Greek equivalent is λάμπας. Two directions for enquiry now open before us ; the first is into the possibility that, by a natural confusion, Helen of Troy should also be identified by tradition with λάμπας ; the second is the equivalence of such a personal name as λάμπας with Solar affinity.

Suppose we take the second point first. Greek Mythology has few stories more vivid than the attempt of Phæthon to drive the chariot of his father Helios across the sky. Ovid tells us magnificently the tale of that ill-starred motor-driving which at one moment burnt up the solid sky, and the next moment turned the earth to a cinder and set the seas boiling. The unfortunate Phæthon was arrested by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Now notice an interesting feature in the tale. Phæthon had a group of sisters who bewailed his fate. They had helped, so some say, to harness the Solar Chariot for him ; they wept over him at his fall so copiously, that they were turned into poplar trees, and their tears into amber. Let us see what the Greeks called these maidens, who must have come from the North Sea or the Baltic, if they were to shed such costly tears. The tradition varies slightly, but we can make out the forms of Lampetië, Lampedousa, Phaëthousa and Aiglë.

These ladies are all personified sunbeams : Phaëthousa is the feminine counterpart of her dazzling brother ; Aiglë is solar splendour ; the other two are a pair and perhaps a doublet, their radiancy being derived from λάμπας *a torch* ; but as they are all daughters of Helios, we have the complete proof that Lampad—, or which is the same thing Helan—, is the daughter of the Sun.

Incidentally we notice that the 'torch' connects them with the Sun in one direction, and with the tree that exudes amber in the other. Was it, perhaps, originally, a *pine*-knot that reproduced the Solar Splendour ?

Our other question relates to Helen of Troy and the possible reaction from Helane to Helene. Does Helen ever become a tree, or is she ever thought of as a daughter of Helios?

In the island of Rhodes, where the cult of Helios is the leading religious feature, there was also a cult of Helen *δενδρῆτις*, *Helen of the Tree*. The appreciation has never been adequately explained; but we note that whatever it means, the Helen-cult and the Helios-cult are adjacent, and that Helen has a tree localisation.

We notice further that the Greeks seem to have been aware that Helen was capable of a torch interpretation. Among the many drear tales of the fall of the 'topless towers of Ilion,' it was said that Helen had, from the ramparts, made signals to the Greeks by means of a blazing torch. That torch was herself in symbol, the evil genius of the city. A further proof that Lampetiē is the daughter of the Sun (an observation which affects Calypso, so far as she is identified with Lampad—) lies in the myth that Lampetiē and Phaëthousa actually were herdswomen to Helios in the three-cornered island; and it was Lampetiē who went to her father Helios and reported the damage which the companions of Odysseus had done to his cattle. We have thus another proof that *Lampad*—, or *Torch* is a proper name for a daughter of the Sun.¹ In this particular instance the Torch Lady is definitely in the North Sea, if our previous investigation is correct, and not very far from the islands of Circe and Calypso.

We infer from the foregoing enquiry that Calypso is a daughter of the Sun, and begin to suspect that the Trojan epic has been affected by northern traditions or infiltrations.

The same conclusions might have been drawn from Ptolemy Hephaestionis (quoted in Photius, *Bibl.*, 480), who says definitely that Helen was the daughter of Helios and Leda. The monograph of Günther on *Kalypso* (Halle, 1919) has come to my hand since writing the foregoing pages. I have had no time to examine it closely. Günther is violently opposed to the identification of Kirkē and Kalypso, but sees clearly that the meaning of the latter name must be sought philologically, and in the direction we have intimated.

¹ See *Apollonius Rhodius*, iv. 962 ff.: (Apollonius from his native place should be well-informed as to traditions of Helios and family). Cf. also *Odyssey*, xii. 127 ff.

THE APPLE MYSTERY IN ARTHURIAN ROMANCE.

BY JESSIE L. WESTON, D.LITT.

IN certain of our Arthurian romances we meet with an incident which, up to the present, has aroused no more than a passing interest. Picturesque and fantastic in appearance, it has been dismissed as the invention of a mediæval writer, copied more or less faithfully by his successors. Evidence, however, has recently come into my possession which proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that, so far from having been a trivial incident of folk-tale or fairy 'provenance,' we have in fact a link connecting our romances with a mysterious cult, the precise origin of which cannot be definitely determined.

Of the incident referred to we have three variants, occurring respectively in the Wauchier continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*; in the Didot-Modena prose *Perceval*; and in the romance of *Durmart li Galois*. The relative position of these texts is still a matter of debate, as the evidence about to be produced will, I think, prove, the writers were really independent of each other, and were drawing from a common original.

We will take the Wauchier text first: Perceval, seeking for the Grail castle, comes to a tree, in which is seated a fair child, holding an apple. Perceval asks the road to the Grail castle, the child will not tell him, but advises him to go on the morrow to the pillar of Mont Dolorous, where he will hear that which will please him. Climbing upward through the branches the child vanishes.¹

After Perceval has achieved the Mont Dolorous adventure, and been set on the road to the Grail castle, he comes after nightfall to a fair oak tree, having on each branch lighted candles, which vanishes at his approach. (Here we may note the lighted tree has no connection with the child.)

¹ Cf. Wauchier, Potvin's ed., ll. 33765 et seq.

In the prose text *Perceval*, seeking for the Grail castle, comes to cross-roads, where there is a fair cross, and a beautiful tree, in the branches of which he sees two naked children playing together. He conjures them in the Name of the Trinity, to speak to him. One of the children answers, they come from Paradise, whence Adam was driven, they know who *Perceval* is, if he takes the road to the right he will find that which he is seeking. With that, tree and children vanish.¹

In *Durmart li Galois* the incident occurs twice ; at the outset of his career the hero, riding through a forest after nightfall, sees a tree, covered with blazing candles, on which is a naked child. The vision vanishes as suddenly as it appeared, but a Voice tells him that the next time he sees Tree and Child he must hearken, and obey the counsel given.² The second vision does not occur till near the end of the poem, after *Durmart* has married the queen of Ireland, and become reconciled to his father the king of Wales and Denmark. On this occasion the tapers on the tree are burning unequally, some bright, some dim. The Child, Who bears Five Wounds, is placing the bright candles to His right hand, the dim to His left. At *Durmart's* approach the vision vanishes, and a Voice, telling him he has seen Christ (an unnecessary detail, in view of the mention of the Five Wounds), bids him depart on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land ; a command which, in company with his wife, father, and mother, the hero obeys.³

As I remarked above, this episode has not, so far, been the subject of special attention on the part of critics, they have been content to pass it over with a brief remark as to the inter-relation of the *Perceval* versions (that of *Durmart li Galois* appears to have escaped attention), the general tendency being to regard *Wauchier* as the source of the prose variant ; so far no one has been concerned to enquire into the ultimate source of the incident. Unless I am much mistaken that ultimate source is now before us, and both in actual content, and in implication, it is of far greater importance than the casual introduction of the episode would lead us to suppose. The text in question will be found imbedded in *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*,

¹ Cf. *Modena's Perceval*, pp. 55-56.

² *Op. cit.*, ll. 1500-42.

³ *Op. cit.*, ll. 15585 et seq.

by Guillaume de Deguilville, where it forms an interlude of some 1200 lines.¹

The theme of the *Pelerinage* is one very familiar in Mediæval literature, i.e. the journey of the Soul after death, under the guidance of its guardian Angel, through the Other World, where it witnesses the torments of the damned, and the bliss of the redeemed. We may note that the Soul is generally represented in the form of a naked child. In the poem before us Pilgrim, and Angel guide, having passed through Hell, return to earth—

“mes ne demoura pas granment
quë çusmes repairement
sus terre dont avant parti
estions, et la endroit vi
tel chose que apparçëu
n'avoïé mie ne vëu.” ll. 5585 et seq.

He sees two trees, one covered with foliage, the other dry and barren, and certain figures, like to himself, disporting themselves beneath. The miniatures here give two naked figures playing with an apple beneath the green tree. (The miniatures are important, as they obviously reproduce the scenes of the drama.) The angel explains

¹ Cf. *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*, ed. by J. J. Stürzinger, for the Roxburghe Club, 1895, ll. 5581-6702. The editor prints in an Appendix the variant additions found in other MSS. which in one case extend to over 500 ll.

I am indebted for my introduction to the text to my friend, Miss Cameron Taylor, to whom the credit for discovering the real character of the Interlude belongs. Attention was first drawn to the text by Dr. Gustav Ludwig, in a study entitled *Giovanni Bellini's sogenannte Madonna am See, in den Uffizien* (Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Berlin, 1902), and dealing with the subject of *The Apple in Christian Art*. Miss Cameron Taylor, who was working on the origins of Christian Art, was interested, went to Paris, read, and made excerpts from some of the MSS. there, and subsequently delivered a lecture, illustrated by slides from photographs of some of the miniatures, under the above title, at the British School of Art in Rome. The real significance and importance of the text had, however, eluded both scholars, and it was not till some years later, when she had become interested in the study of Comparative Religion, that Miss Cameron Taylor detected the real character of her find. When invited to deliver a lecture before the Quest Society, during this winter season, she revised her material in view of later knowledge, and it was when discussing the subject with her previous to the lecture that I detected the analogy with the Grail texts, an analogy confirmed by the evidence of the slides. Miss Cameron Taylor is not herself an Arthurian student, and was extremely interested at this additional evidence of the importance of the text.

that all who walk in the right way have their moments of sadness, and need play and solace—

“et d'estre apaisié com enfant
d'aucune chose confortant.” ll. 5609-10.

These souls have found

“une pomme ou grant soulas a
dont se jouent et joueront
toutes fois quë ennui aront.” ll. 5614-16.

This apple, he explains, is not the apple of Adam through which misfortune (ahan) came to the world—

“mes est li pomme qui pour li
en ce haut arbre sec pendi;
et avoit crëu par devant
en ce vert arbre florissant
d'arbre en arbre translatee
et du vert au sec portee
pour faire restablissement
de l'autre pomme, indeveement
par le dit Adam ostee
qui li estoit devëe.” ll. 5622-32.

The Apple is Christ crucified for the redemption and restoration of the human race. The Angel proceeds to explain that, as the pips of the wild apple when planted will produce but sour and bitter fruit, unless a graft from a good apple-tree is introduced, so the progeny of Adam were all tainted with original sin, and even as wild apples—

“de quoi li maistre des pommiers
point ne mectoit en ses greniers,
ains les getoit on aus porceaus
d'enfer a tas et a monceaus
a tousjours pardurablement.” ll. 5669-73.

Until God the Father, choosing a suitable stock (i.e. St. Anne) grafted upon it the fair graft of the Virgin Mary, and produced an apple-tree that would bear ‘franc fruit et agrëable.’

This, I think, we must take to represent the prologue to the drama proper, for after having dilated at some length upon the excellence of the green apple-tree, and the impossibility of restoring life to the dry, unless the fruit of the one is transferred to the other, the tone suddenly changes with the advent of another figure upon the scene—nothing, as said above, can be done—

"jusques a tant que vint avant
 une dame de fier semblant
 qui Justice estoit nommee
 par qui la chose muee
 fu asses tost tout autrement
 or entent, se tu veulx, comment." ll. 5843-48.

Here a miniature shows Justice, sword in hand, standing between the two trees ; on the green tree is seated a figure in white, whom we learn signifies Virginité, holding on her lap an apple. The Soul with the guardian Angel look on from the background. From this point the Angel is silent, and the characters speak for themselves.

Justice speaks first, setting forth the case of the dry tree, wrongfully deprived of her apple, with the result that Adam and his heirs are damned, and can find no succour. The tree and the apple which she, Virginité, guards so carefully, are descended from this same Adam, and were created for the sole purpose of restoring life to this dry tree ; she must needs give up her apple to Justice, who will hang it on the dry tree and fix it firmly with nails, and by that means make restitution for the sin of Adam.

Virginité protests : she would guard the tree and fruit committed to her, but knows not how best to plead their cause. She recalls how Alexander, who was long in a savage country, found two trees, respectively of the sun, and the moon, who spoke to him, and told him of his fortune. If Justice be in very truth what she professes to be, she will command the two trees to speak, and to plead their own cause. The dry tree must speak first.

(Here follows the heading "*Altercation piteuse entre l'arbre vert, et l'arbre sec.*")

The dry tree makes plaint that having been thus unjustly and prematurely deprived of her fruit, she could never come to honour, but, like a wild apple tree, could never bear good fruit. She had become "a nulle rien convenable, et du tout abhominable." But now she sees on this flourishing green tree an apple, through which she may have full restitution, she appeals to Justice to make this restitution without delay or debate.

The green tree, the leaves quivering (*hochant ses feuilles*), replies that, even if descended from Adam, there is not in her that seed of sin which was implanted by him, and being thus free from any taint of the original wild stock, she owes no restitution. That should be made by

one who bears the original taint, the seed of her apple came from Heaven, she sees no reason why her 'doulce pomme,' otherwise called Jesus, should be taken from her. From Adam it has inherited nothing save the outer covering (*escorce de dehors*) which it received from her. If the tree be healthy, even more so is the fruit, Justice will surely agree that he who inherits the sin must make the restitution.

To this the dry tree makes answer that of a certes she will not deny that the heirs of Adam owe reparation, not alone to her, but also to God, Whose command Adam disobeyed, and to the souls who, through his sin have been doomed to eternal punishment, but they have not the power to do so. This green tree, and its apple, are the direct heirs of Adam, and the apple has done no wrong, therefore it has the power to make reparation, and satisfaction, and she demands of Justice that the apple be given up to her.

The green tree protests that it would be most unjust that he should pay who owes nothing, and that the debtor should go free, or that undue restitution should be made. The apple taken by Adam was of but little value, her apple is of worth and value beyond man's conception, it is a heavy thing to punish the innocent, and let the guilty escape.

The debate proceeds at some length, the dry tree pointing out that the green tree has little profit of her apple while she keeps it to herself, but if it be given to her, beaten, torn, nailed, and pierced, the juice which will flow therefrom will reinvigorate her roots, that is, the whole human race, the tree will be greater, more vigorous, more enduring, '*se du dit jus arrousees et medicinees sont les racines.*'

The green tree, still protesting, refers the decision to Justice who answers that Force is neither Right, nor Reason; if the apple be such as Virginity insists, he will do nothing but what is right, in fact God the Father has already foreseen all and held counsel thereon with His Son.

Here the scene changes, we are transported to Heaven, where we assist at the Divine counsel of the Trinity.¹

¹ Here we must figure to ourselves the mediæval stage, in three tiers, the upper representing Heaven, where we see the Three Persons of the Trinity seated; the middle stage, Earth, the scene set with the two trees, Justice standing between them; in the lowest tier the souls in Hell wait anxiously for the verdict upon which their final fate depends.

God the Father speaks first : He points out that man owes amends for the apple plucked in disobedience, whereby he must be lost, the which is ill-pleasing to the Deity (plural) who created him to be heir of Paradise. Fain would God find one who could pay the ransom, that the tree might be restored, but no angel can do so, Man alone, owes the debt, and may rightly pay it. Let the Deity now debate the question together, what sayeth God the Son ?

The Second Person of the Trinity speaks "True it is that the serpent deceived Adam by fraud, therefore it would be good could man be helped to find a way to make things right. But Adam and his successors are alike sinners, he has no heir who is not tainted with the first sin, or who is sufficient to pay so great a debt. The Holy Spirit is here, to Him appertaineth counsel, He will know what should be done."

The Third Person of the Trinity replies : "It is indeed right that he who makes amends should be man, since man it was who transgressed but that man must needs be innocent, and further, have power equal to that of the Godhead. And where shall such an one be found save that One of Us become Man, and take on Himself the form of an Apple, so that by that Apple the tree be restored, and the forfeit paid ? If this be not done man will never make his peace with God."

"Certes," replies God the Father, "Meseemeth that One of Us must make good the folly, else all men must perish. How seemeth it to Thee, very dear Son ?"

"I am," saith He, "of that advice, but a heavy thing it will be for Him to Whom that task is committed."¹

"Thou speakest true, Son, it shall be Thou, but it must be at Thy pleasure. So I pray that it may please Thee to suffer this misease."

¹The dialogue here is so quaint to modern ears, I give it in the original—

"Certes," dist lors Dieu le Pere
 "bien croi qu'il faut que compere
 ceste folie l'un de nous
 ou que hommes perissent tous.
 que t'en semble il, tres chier fils ?"
 "il m'est," dist il, "ainsi avis ;
 mes moult grief chose ce seroit
 a cil qui commis y seroit." ll. 6247-54.

"Ha ! what an evil apple, if I must needs bear the burthen, and become as a packhorse to pay the redemption of him who ate it, and who, perchance, will give thanks neither to Thee, nor to Me ! Me-thinks I may well repent Me to have had a share in his creation, if this be My guerdon. But, My Father, if thus it must be, and it be Thy pleasure, however great the sorrow to me, Thy Will, not Mine, be done." Yet, so the speech continues, it were well not to hasten, else man will not have had sufficient experience of the danger and peril to which his sin has exposed him. It were well he should know them, so that, when Grace is extended to him, he may be duly grateful.

To this God the Father assents, man shall be afflicted five thousand years, or thereabouts, after that he shall be helped. Meanwhile He, God the Father, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, will take measures to provide a fitting tree, into which God the Son shall descend and become an Apple. Then when God shall see Him as Apple, crushed and beaten, so that the juice pours forth, He will be well pleased, but he must have the juice as forfeit—then shall Hell deliver up man.¹

We now return to Earth : Justice, turning to the green tree, bids her consider all that the dry tree has pleaded ; the Debate of the Trinity, and the sentence passed that the dry tree shall be restored by the Apple which Virginité has already kept too long. The Apple falls to the ground of its own volition, without injury to the tree. Envy comes on the scene, saying that she will act as executioner for Justice—the Apple is nailed to the dry tree—

" si haut et si publiquement
que de pres et loing toute gent
de toutes pars et environ
virent la restitution." ll. 6345-48.

Here some MSS. give a miniature of Christ crucified in the tree, which is now covered with foliage.

The green Tree now becomes explicitly identified with the Blessed Virgin ; wringing her branches, and uttering loud cries, she breaks

¹This debate was possibly followed by an interlude, depicted in a miniature, where God the Father, in the guise of a turbaned Sage, is seen in an orchard, inserting a fresh young graft (the Virgin Mary) into the trunk of a tree (St. Anne).

into a lengthy series of laments, addressed in turn to God the Father ; God the Holy Ghost ; the Angel Gabriel ; St. Elizabeth ; the Woman who pronounced a blessing on Christ's Mother ; Simeon ; Joachim and Anna. To St. John ; the Angels ; to Death, the Earth, Sun, Moon, and Stars ; all interspersed with passionate appeals to her Son. (The character of these laments is rather that of Reproaches.) They conclude with a pathetic appeal to the dry tree who has won her cause, and is now in the sight of all justified, and renewed (revestue), to restore her Apple. To this the once dry tree, now again full of leaf, replies that she should not thus lament ; the Apple, when she, the dry tree, received it, was capable of suffering, and could undergo torment and death, but from henceforward neither Death nor Passion can touch It, "ains immortel toujours sera." After the Apple has been again plucked, and retained Three Days "en mes greniers" she will return It, glorified—

"et bien donner lors la pourra
a tes amis a leur diner
fruit meilleur ne pourras trouver."

Here the drama ends, the Angel drawing the moral that, not children alone, but those of advanced age, may find joy and solace in this Apple, and the Pilgrim utters the devout aspiration—

". . . le pommier qui porta
la Pomme, et qui pour li ploura
me doint de li si bien jouer
que mes tourmens puisse oublier."¹

Now I do not think that there can be the slightest doubt that we have here the text, more or less complete (the MSS. vary considerably) of a Mystery Play, dealing with the doctrine of the Atonement, nor that it was from this Play that the authors of the Grail romances derived the imagery of a Child in a Tree. As we saw above we have three distinct versions of the theme, and in view of the evidence of the text it seems clear that the authors responsible for these versions were writing independently of each other, they were individually familiar with the Play, and each chose such features as appealed to him.

¹ Cf. *Pelerinage de l'Ame*, Roxburghe Club ed., pp. 185-220.

Thus Wauchier gives us the naked child playing with the Apple, i.e. the individual Soul. The author of the prose *Perceval*, whether Borron, or another, probably influenced by the *mise-en-scène* (the miniatures I have seen give two naked figures), has two children, and tells us, what is quite true, that the Tree originally came from Paradise. In *Durmart li Galois* the child bears the Sacred Wounds, and is identified with Christ, whom we have seen represented as crucified on the Tree, but Whose appearance is in no way to be confused with that of the child Soul.¹

But, we may note, these versions are obviously independent, the prose *Perceval* did not find its 'Paradise' connection in Wauchier; the author of *Durmart* found nothing in either of the *Perceval* texts that could have suggested to him the identification of the Child in the Tree with Christ; but the text of the drama affords the explanation of each and all of the variants.

I have frequently protested against the theory that whenever we find two similar incidents occurring in our romances we must of necessity postulate borrowing on the part of one writer, there was always the possibility of a common source, which might have been familiar to both. This particular incident, in so far as the two *Perceval* texts were concerned, was a case in point, and in my study of the prose text (*Legend of Sir Perceval*, Vol. II.) I went very carefully into the relation between this romance, and Wauchier's continuation of Chrétien, adducing evidence to show that the two writers were drawing independently from a common source. Certain critics, however (notably M. Ferd. Lot, and Professor Bruce) rejected the evidence, maintaining that Hoffmann, in his dissertation on the prose text, had proved the contrary. Here now, we have what is manifestly the original of both these texts, and the version of *Durmart li Galois*, and I submit that it proves up to the hilt my contention of mutual independence and dependence upon a common source.

Another point to be noted is that the respective authors of these romances, all written either in the closing years of the twelfth, or

¹ I have found no clue, either in the text, or the miniatures to the lighted tree, which, in Wauchier, is, as we have seen, quite distinct from the Paradise tree. It may have formed part of the scenery of the Play, and have been dropped out in the extant texts, or it may be derived from an independent Folk-lore source.

opening years of the thirteenth century,¹ apparently take it for granted that their readers, or hearers, understand this imagery, they do not trouble to explain it, whereas the author of the *Pelerinage*, writing about 1355 (according to the author of the Roxburghe text) when he introduces the imagery of children playing with an apple, finds himself constrained to explain such imagery at full length, greatly to our profit! Does not this seem to indicate that the Play at the earlier date was familiar to the general public, but by the latter half of the fourteenth century had become merely a literary survival?

But now, leaving for the moment the problem of literary parallels, we must ask what can have induced the author, or authors of the original Drama to cast their theme in so curious a mould? Why represent the Mystery of the Atonement under what must appear to modern minds, so unfitting a form? Why should the Redeemer of the World be represented under the form of an Apple? The answer is one of extraordinary interest for the student of Comparative Religion, especially for the student whose interest is centred in that mysterious border-land where pre-Christian and Christian Faiths met, and struggled for the mastery. Unless I am very much mistaken we are here dealing with an attempt on the part of the Church to Christianise an already existing Pagan ritual, the object of which was the fertilisation of the orchards, specifically represented by the most prolific of fruit trees, the apple.

That such a ritual existed, and that traces of it have survived, and in some parts of England still survive, is a common-place to students of Folklore; no folk-custom is better attested than that which is generally known as 'Wassailing the Apple-trees.' Dr. Rendel Harris, who has given a very full and detailed account of the variant forms of this ceremony,² points out that, while the use of the term Wassail proves that it has come down to us from Saxon times,

¹ A careful study of *Durmart li Galois* has convinced me that Gaston Paris was right in his, the above, dating of that poem. The relative position assigned to the characters, Gawain, as chief knight of Arthur's court, Yvain closely coupled with him, Perceval as Grail winner, Lancelot inferior to these three, is incompatible with the date assigned to it by Professor Bruce, i.e. the second quarter of the thirteenth century, which would make it posterior to the cyclic developments.

² Cf. *Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults*, J. Rendel Harris, reprinted from BULLETIN of The John Rylands Library, Vol. 5 (1919), p. 8.

“there is much more in the account than can be explained by a Saxon habit of drinking health to everybody and everything at a particular season of the year. It is clear that what the Devonshire rustics were engaged in was a veritable sacrament, in which they brought their deity to their deity, and partook of their deity with their deity under solid and liquid symbolism.”

The study referred to gives a description of the ritual as practised in different parts of the country, and the reader who desires detailed descriptions of local variants may be referred to its pages. The main features of the ceremony are identical throughout, and a summary of these will be sufficient to show the curious analogy still persisting between these modern customs and the old Mystery Play.

The ceremony takes place at Christmas-tide, generally on the Eve of the Epiphany, i.e. old Christmas Eve. The farmer, with his household goes into the orchard, bearing a milk pan, or a jug, full of hot cider, in which are roasted apples, and sops of bread. They stand round the most fruitful apple-tree (sometimes the ceremony is repeated for more than one), and sing a song which varies somewhat in different counties. A Devonshire form runs :—

“Here’s to thee, old apple-tree
Whence thou may’st bud and whence thou mayst blow
And whence thou may’st bear apples enow !
Hats full, Caps full,
Bushel, bushel, sacks full !
And my pockets full too—Huzza !”

A Sussex form runs :—

“Stand fast root,
Bear well top,
Pray God send us
A good howling crop.¹
Every twig
Apples big,
Every bough
Apples enow,
Hats full, Caps full !
Full quarter sacks full,
Holla, boys, Holla, Huzza !”

In some cases the song is accompanied by pantomime, the singers

¹ The word ‘*howling*,’ above, is a rendering of *youling*, *yuling*. Cf. op. cit., p. 11.

bending to the ground, and rising slowly, as if under the weight of a heavy sack.

Then each dips a cup into the pan or jug, and drinks a portion of the content, throwing the rest at the apple tree. The method of offering a libation to the tree varies ; sometimes cider, roasted apples, and sops of bread are all thrown together at the tree ; sometimes pieces of apple, or toast, it may even be a whole cake, are placed on the branches ; or a roasted apple is nailed to the trunk. The cider is, as a rule, poured on the roots. Thus, as in the Play, the apple is restored to the tree, which is watered by its juice. At the conclusion of the ceremony the wassailing party fire a salvo from their guns into the tree.

This is a brief summary of the main features of the ritual, which vary little in different counties, but here and there we meet with a very significant feature, which has elsewhere disappeared.

In Sussex a youth, bearing a jug of cider, climbs into the tree, and is apparently the object of the firing, care, of course, being taken not to hit him.¹

Dr. Rendel Harris notes that in South Devon a little boy was hoisted into the tree, and seated on a branch. He was to represent a tom-tit, and sat there crying "Tit, tit, more to eat," upon which cider and cheese were handed up to him.¹

The writer suggests that we have here the spirit of the apple tree, identified with a bird, and proceeds to argue for the existence of a bird sacrifice, the reminiscence of which is preserved in the hunting of the wren on St. Stephen's day. I would suggest that the evidence of the Play hints at something more sinister, i.e. the original sacrifice of a youth, for the rejuvenation of the tree, a barbarous ceremony, for which the Church endeavoured to substitute a symbolic sacrifice.³

But have we any evidence that this Christian Apple Mystery was ever directly connected with the Wassail ceremony ? I think so. In his exhaustive study Dr. Rendel Harris notes that, in some parts of Yorkshire the Wassail, here called *Vessel*, Cup, is carried from house

¹ Miss Lucy Broadwood is here my informant.

² Cf. op. cit., p. 21.

³ It would be interesting to know to what tree St. Sebastian was traditionally bound. Arrows may well have been the original method of execution.

to house, while the bearers sing carols and collect money. "*The cup was sometimes accompanied by an image of Christ, and roasted apples.*" (The italics are in the original.) "In Northumbria the image of Christ is replaced by that of the Madonna."¹

The learned author is at a loss to understand the connection of Christ and the Madonna with the Wassail apples, and can only suggest that the season, (Christmas) may be responsible. But on the evidence of our Mystery Play is it not more probable that we have here a survival of the Christianised form of the ritual in which the Madonna was identified with the Apple Tree, and Christ with the Apple?

And surely the fact that, while we have such a mass of evidence as to the survival of what was certainly at least part of a pre-Christian ritual, we find such very scanty traces of a definitely Christian form, would suggest that this elaborate attempt to Christianise a popular ritual did not meet with any general success: the earlier folk-custom stubbornly refused to be supplanted, and the 'Mystery' form became a mere literary survival. Where it did leave its traces was in Christian Art, especially in that of the Venetian painters, where we often find the Child Christ represented as holding in His Hand an apple, the symbol of His Passion.

In literature the only traces appear to be those preserved in our Grail romances, where they form another piece of suggestive evidence in favour of the original connection of the Grail tradition with early semi-Pagan, semi-Christian Nature Cults, a connection for which I have argued in *From Ritual to Romance*.

Since writing the above I have discussed the legend of St. Sebastian with friends who have pointed out that the saint is generally represented as bound to a dry and leafless tree, which in later Art becomes a column. Further, that it is difficult to account for the great "artistic" popularity of a character playing no important part in genuine ecclesiastical history. It appears to me that an enquiry into the origin and sources of the Sebastian legend might be productive of interesting results.

¹Op. cit., pp. 12, 15.

THE FIGHTING ASCETICS OF INDIA.¹

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I.

MONASTICISM, the system which sets men and women apart from ordinary life, in order that they may live in celibacy and poverty, and devote their whole time and energy to the highest ends of religion, is something which we can all understand and appreciate, whatever our judgment as to the final value of the practice may be ; but when we hear of members of some monastic order taking to arms and fighting, we hardly know what to make of the information. How can the life of complete self-dedication to religion square with war, terror, bloodshed and death ? How can the monk have ever been persuaded to become a soldier ?—The answer is that in most cases, religious war has been the exciting cause. When people of one faith have attacked people who held another, with some sort of religious or semi-religious end in view, then monks, though dedicated to an exclusively religious life, have, in most cases, felt it was time to take up the sword in defence of their fellow-believers. When, under the early Caliphs, the armies of Islam attacked the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, we read that, at a number of points, Christian monks went out with banners and arms to oppose them. Muslim ascetics have, however, frequently taken up the sword,

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 11 March, 1925.

NOTE.—In the hunt for the facts in connection with this subject, I have received a great deal of help from friends, especially from Mr. W. D. P. Hill, M.A., Benares, the Rev. G. Spooner, M.A., formerly of Benares, Darśan Śāstrī J. N. C. Ganguly, M.A., Calcutta, the Rev. Dr. F. E. Keay of Saugor, C.P., India, and Dr. Mingana of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

even when they were not threatened by religious war, and the same seems to be true of certain groups of Indian ascetics.

The mediæval movement in which the three great orders of monastic knighthood arose—the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Knights Templars and the Teutonic Knights¹—was inspired by the desire to protect Christian pilgrims and invalids from Muslim violence ; but thereafter the knights proceeded to play for some two centuries a great part in the political and military struggle between Europe and Islam. Similarly, in Spain, the orders of St. James of Compostella, Alcantara and Calatrava, were all founded as military religious orders to fight the Moors of Spain.² Even to-day in those parts of the Near East where conditions are constantly disturbed, you may see the Christian monk shouldering his musket or any other weapon he can get to defend his monastery.³

Sufism, as Muslim Mysticism is called, sprang from the religious experience of Muhammad, on the one hand, and from Christian mysticism,⁴ on the other ; while early Muslim asceticism is almost entirely a reflex of the life of the Christian monk of the seventh century. Muslim mystics, whether householders or vowed ascetics, are called Sufis ;⁵ while ascetics are called Faqirs⁶ or Dervishes,⁷ *faqir* being Arabic, while *dervish* is Persian. The only word used in India for a Muslim ascetic is faqir. These ascetics are organised in orders, each dependent on an ancient historical founder and controlled by a living head.⁸ Like the Christian monk of the seventh century, the faqir took to fighting in the religious wars. We hear of them in the early struggles and in most of the later wars.⁹ In most Islamic countries of the East to-day, you meet the faqir carrying a spear or heavy axe.¹⁰ Sheikh Said, the leader of the Kurds who have rebelled against the modern Turkish Government, is the head of one of the most famous Dervish orders, the Nakshbandis,⁷ so that, doubtless, many of his fighting followers are faqirs.

It is very remarkable that, although Buddhist teaching is of a

¹ *Encyclo. Britt.*, xxiv. 12 ; xxvi. 591 ; 676.

² *Ibid.*, xv. 866.

³ I owe this touch to Dr. Mingana, who has travelled much in the East.

⁴ *ERE.*, xii. 10 ; *Encyclo. Britt.*, xxvi. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 136.

⁷ *Ibid.*, viii. 75.

⁸ See *ERE.*, iv. 641 ; viii., 881 ; *Encyclo. Britt.*, viii. 75.

⁹ See *Dervish and Marabout* in *Encyclo. Britt.*

¹⁰ This also I owe to Dr. Mingana.

¹¹ *ERE.*, iv. 642.

deeply quietist character, yet one great order of Buddhist monks in mediæval Japan developed into a military force and played a considerable part in the politics and wars of their time.¹

II. I expect most students of history know about the Christian military orders and have also heard something about the fighting prowess of Muslim faqirs; but to most of us the ascetics of India seem to stand by themselves. We think of them as the supreme penitents of the world. This side of Hinduism is usually thought to be, beyond other forms of religious life, characterised by other-worldliness, by a supreme contempt for the pleasures, comforts and shows of the world. The idea of Hindu monks becoming fighting men seems grotesquely absurd.

If you dip into the great books on the history of India, you will find scarcely a hint that such a thing ever happened;² most students have never heard of the facts; and even in the latest and greatest books on Hinduism, there is scarcely a reference to its monastic warriors. I should have known little or nothing about this very significant aspect of Indian history, had I not been driven to investigate the present-day organisation of certain orders of Hindu ascetics: only when I got to understand the history of the fighting did the problem become soluble.

There is a sort of faint prophecy of all this strange history found at a very early date in India. It was probably about seven hundred years before Christ, but possibly earlier, that groups of Hindu householders began the practice of giving up the life of the village and the town to devote their whole time to religion in the quiet and peace of the forest. Those who entered on this life were called Vānaprasthas, forest-dwellers, hermits, but their practice cannot be called ascetic. It was rather puritan than ascetic. Celibacy was not necessary. A man usually took his wife with him to the forest, and children were often born in the hermitages. The chief end these men had in view was to escape from the toil and bustle and worry of ordinary life, and to devote their whole attention to religious thought and practice. The

¹ Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I. lxxxii.; xcii.; Griffis, *Religions of Japan*, 247, Cave, *Living Religions of the East*, 183.

² In the *Bombay Gazetteer*, xiv. 134 ff., there is a long note which gives more facts about the fighting ascetics than I have found anywhere else; but see also Grant Duff, Tod, Sleeman and Forbes.

hermit gave up his profession and every form of work ; he did not even sow and reap. He was forbidden to enter a village or to step on ploughed land. His sole interest was religion. He therefore went to the forest and built a rude hut, and laid up in it a store of grain for food. Usually a number of huts were built near each other, and thus formed a hermitage. As there were many wild beasts in the forest in those early days, and also many wild men, the hermits crowded together for safety.

When a king or prince or courtier was driven into exile, the custom was to retire to the forest and live as a hermit until some change in the political situation should give him the chance of returning. Thus the *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that when, through the scheming of one of his wives, Daśaratha, the king of Ayodhyā, was persuaded to send his son Rāma into exile, Rāma with his wife, Sītā, and his brother, Lakshman, withdrew to the forest to the south of the Jumna, and there lived as hermits ; and there is a parallel episode in the life of the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata*. In the case of a king, prince or noble, the exile took his arms with him to the forest, and used them to keep off wild beasts and hostile men, and also to kill the deer of the forest for food ; but the ordinary hermit had no arms. This then is the faint early prophecy of the great history of later days which we have to study.

In those days Hindus of the highest castes still ate flesh. But in later centuries animal sacrifice and the eating of flesh were denounced as cruel in that they led to the destruction of animal life. Hence the saving of animal life became an ideal, and a rule arose that no hermit in the forest should kill an animal : it was thought inconsistent with his religious life. This is the famous rule of *ahimsā*,¹ harmlessness.

When hermits had learned to practise this rule, the animals of the forest gradually realised, in the neighbourhood of a hermitage, that they were perfectly safe from attack, and became absolutely tame, completely free from fear of man. In early Indian poetry one finds many descriptions of these scenes of peace and friendship in the forest.² In the course of the first attempt to climb Mount Everest, when the explorers had come within a few marches of the great mountain, they

¹ Later, the rule of *ahimsā* prohibited injury to plant life as well. The *sannyāsi* was not allowed to pluck fruit from a tree or grain from a field.

² *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 1 ; Kālidāsa, *Śakuntalā*, Act I., *Everyman* edition, p. 7.

found many places where beasts and birds were exceedingly tame, quite untouched by fear of man. The Buddhist monks on the mountains still practise *ahimsā*.

III. One of the greatest of all the changes that mark the history of Hinduism is the rise of the doctrine of transmigration and karma, the central idea of which is that every soul passes through innumerable lives, in each life enjoying or suffering just recompense for the deeds done in its previous life. Now all Hindus accepted this doctrine ; but, while the ordinary man accepted it with equanimity, quite pleased to look forward to another life, thinking men hated the prospect and regarded it as intolerable to be unceasingly driven through the round of birth and death. Hence they began to look about for some means of escape from this dreadful fate. They sought for Release from Transmigration.

Now every form of asceticism, Hindu, Buddhist or Jain, which arose in ancient India, was meant to secure this inexpressibly precious boon ; and men who were determined to achieve Release became ascetics, because it was felt that no one could escape from rebirth, unless he had completely subdued his passions and all the natural tendencies of the human personality to love life and the world and its joys. Indian asceticism has thus for its one aim the complete expulsion of love of all things worldly from the soul. How incredible then, at first sight, it is that any Indian ascetic should take to fighting ! Further, every ascetic takes the vow of *ahimsā*, i.e. harmlessness, the vow not to destroy life in any form : how then can the Indian ascetic become a warrior ?

The earliest of all the ascetic orders of India is the famous Hindu order, the *sannyāsīs* or renouncers, so named because their faith and their practice equally required that they should renounce everything worldly. The order came into being, in all probability, about 600 B.C. The belief which created the movement is that the human soul is identical with the Supreme ; and the original teaching of the school is found in the early Upanishads.¹

Rather later arose Jainism and Buddhism, each with its order of monks intent on Release.

We now leave those early days of the sixth century B.C. and come down to a time about the Christian era. In the interval the mass of

¹ See Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads Translated*, Oxford, 1921.

the Hindu people had learned to worship the gods by means of temple and image ; and in the centres of population artistic temples were being erected, each dedicated to one of the chief divinities of the Hindu pantheon.

The most noticeable result of this new worship was the rise of sects within Hinduism. Each god had his own special worshippers who preferred him to all the other gods ; and, as they became organised for his worship and everything connected therewith, they became a sect.

By far the greatest of the sects of these early days were the sect which still worships Śiva and the sect which still worships Viṣṇu. Each sect had its own group of monastic devotees.

We take the sect of Śiva first. At this early date, about the Christian era, the monks of Śiva practised *yoga*, "restraint," i.e. a series of exercises, partly mental, partly physical, meant to still the mind and to help the man to escape from the influence of the world and to understand spiritual things. Hence those ascetics who were devoted to Śiva and practised *yoga* were called *yogīs*, "restraint men."

The sect of Viṣṇu had its ascetics also. As they also sought to conquer the worldly passions of the human heart and to become spiritual men, they were called *vairāgīs*, "passionless men."

IV. We may now consider how the various groups of ascetics became transformed into fighting men.

A. We begin with the devotees of Śiva, who, we have seen, were called *yogīs*. Some of these *yogīs* worshipped the fierce form of Śiva called Bhairava, i.e. the Terrifier. In his images, he has a red skin, matted hair, four arms and three eyes, the third eye set vertically in the middle of his forehead. In one hand he carries a sword, in another a cup of liquor. He is stark naked, wearing only a garland of human skulls hanging from his neck, an emblem of the human sacrifices in which he delights.¹

Now to imitate one's god is one of the commonest of religious impulses ; so the *yogīs* who adored Bhairava got themselves up so as to be as like the god as possible. The *yogī* went naked, had his hair in a great matted cone on the top of his head, carried a sword in one hand and a cup of liquor in the other, and, if possible, he also wore a garland of human skulls hanging from his neck. They frequently used

¹ See Śāstrī, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, 151.

a human skull as a drinking vessel. The sword was used for slaying the victims of sacrifice, whether animal or human, and also played a great part in some of their magic rites. In one of the most famous of Indian dramas, the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti (c. 700 A.D.), the heroine is on the point of being slain in a temple as a sacrifice to the fierce goddess Chāmuṇḍā, by a yogī, when the hero arrives, kills the yogī and saves the lady he loves.¹

In one of the romantic histories found in Sanskrit literature, Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*,² the life-story of the emperor Harsha, we learn how these yogīs became soldiers. King Pushpabhūti meets a learned yogī named Bhairavāchārya, i.e. Priest of Bhairava, and becomes his friend. This ascetic scholar kills a man, and, by the might of a weird magic rite performed on the corpse, he enables the king, in a midnight encounter, to conquer and subdue to his will an unearthly spirit of great power called Śrikanṭha. Thereafter, two yogīs, disciples of Bhairavāchārya, who had borne arms along with the king in the night battle and are described as "men of a warlike spirit," enter the royal bodyguard to spend the rest of their lives fighting for the king. The romance belongs to the seventh century A.D. ; and we thus see that at that early date it was already customary for these yogīs to hire themselves out as soldiers. Here there is no religious war to account for the transformation of the monk into a fighting man.

At later dates we find many references to yogī warriors, especially in the chronicles of Rajputana.³ Clearly each Rajput chief was glad to gather round him a bodyguard of these men ; and many a chief hired large numbers of them, so that they formed a considerable element in his army. They seem to have usually gone naked, thus keeping up their allegiance to the naked god Bhairava. While most of our references to yogī warriors in the early centuries relate to Rajputana, it is clear that in later centuries they were common in many parts of the north.⁴

¹ See Wilson's translation, Act V. ; Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, 188.

² Translated by Cowell and Thomas, RAS., 1897, pp. 83-99.

³ See especially Tod, and Grierson's *Lay of Alha*.

⁴ Probably, the earliest group were Kāpālikas, like Bhairavāchārya and his men ; but Lakuliśa fighters were also found ; and great numbers of Gorakhnāth's Kānpṭha Yogīs took to arms.

Besides sword, spear, bow, and arrow, these yogīs carried steel discs, which they threw with deadly effect. The discus made of thin steel was an ancient Indian weapon, and was called *Chakra*, i.e. wheel. They were made with a saw-edge, and each was but a narrow circlet of steel, so that the warrior could pass six or eight of them over his head and wear them like a ruff round his neck. We are told that they could throw a disc with so much force as almost to cut a man in two.

But fighting yogīs did not always become the hired soldiers of a recognised king. They frequently gathered in great companies, when the country was in an unsettled condition, and went out to fight in their own interests. They would seize a piece of valuable land, settle down on it, and live by agriculture and trade ; but they retained their arms and were quite ready to use them if any one tried to dispossess them. Many of them made considerable fortunes. It is hardly likely that in those circumstances their vow of celibacy was very much respected. An excellent example of this type of settlement is found in the case of a yogī king who, about 1500 A.D., had his lands in Western India and kept a considerable army of yogīs. Once in three or four years some three thousand of these warriors went out on pilgrimage and laid the whole country under contribution.¹ Anquetil du Perron, the French scholar who went to India about 1760 A.D. and brought to Europe the earliest trustworthy information about the Zoroastrian religion, describes a rich yogī who lived stark naked near Surat. He had great influence and did a very large trade in precious stones ; so that he kept up correspondence with every part of Asia.¹

One of the most notable religious leaders of India about 1500 A.D. was Kabīr. In his system Hinduism and Islam mingle. Nānak, who founded the religion of the Sikhs, is only one of a number of teachers who drew their inspiration from him. Kabir vigorously condemned both idolatry and caste ; and he had great influence all over North India. In the *Bijak*, a volume of his religious verse, there is a poem which pictures the fighting yogī and his irregularities very vividly :—²

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xiv., 135.

² Ahmad Shah, *The Bijak of Kabir*, 85.

1. O brother, never have I seen yogī like this : puffed up with pride he walks, caring for nothing.
2. He teaches the religion of Mahādeva (i.e. Śiva) and therefore is called a Mahant.
3. In market and street he sits in the posture of a yogī ; he is an imperfect Siddha (saint) a lover of Māyā (the illusion of the world).
4. When did Dattātreyā¹ attack his enemies ? when did Śukadeva¹ lay a cannon ?
5. When did Nārada¹ fire a gun, or Vyāsadeva¹ sound a horn ?
6. They who fight are of little wisdom ; shall I call such men ascetics or bandits ?

But how was it possible for these irresponsible companies of ascetic warriors to wander about in this way, at their own sweet will, killing people, stealing their property and their children and committing all sort of excesses ?—One part of the reason is to be found in this, that for some centuries there was no Imperial power in North India. The country was cut up into a great number of independent kingdoms, big and little, and no one felt responsible for the general peace and welfare of the country. So long as a roving band of yogīs did not attack the interests of a king or chieftain powerful enough to cut them to pieces, they were free to continue their plundering and murderous pilgrimages.

But the chief reason for the immunity from punishment which fighting ascetics enjoyed in North India for a thousand years is to be found in their religious status. Since they were initiated ascetics, recognised devotees and servants of one of the Hindu gods, they could not be tried for murder by any Hindu king. They did not come within the ambit of the law. Only the guru of the ascetic could punish him. Necessarily the ordinary Hindu was afraid to touch one of these men : there was no saying what sort of supernatural vengeance he might wreak upon him. Their consecrated position thus effectively protected them from civil process and also from popular reprisal.

B. We now turn our attention to the end of the twelfth century, when the great Muhammadan army of invaders from Western Afghanistan crossed the Indus, and within a few years conquered a very large part of North India. From 1200 A.D. the bulk of the north was ruled by a Muhammadan empire.

I had better interject at this point a yogī custom which expresses

¹ Famous Hindu saints.

rather a noble spirit. After the conquest had taken place, one might meet in North India, bands of yogis, each with several lengths of heavy iron chain hanging from his shoulders and trailing on the ground behind him. It was a symbolical act, meant to express their overwhelming shame at the enslavement of their country by foreigners.¹

The writer does not know whether fighting faqirs formed part of the army which invaded India or not. In any case, after the conquest, great numbers of Muslim adventurers of many types came into North India; and among them religious teachers and faqirs in great numbers. From a date not later than 1500 A.D., we have plenty of information to show that faqirs wandered about, taking part in any fighting that was to be done, and also murdering, plundering and seizing lands. Here is how Tavernier, the well-known French traveller of the seventeenth century, describes a company of them which he met:—

“The following day I had another experience, which was a meeting I had with a party of *Faqirs*, or Muhammadan *Dervishes*. I counted fifty-seven of them. . . . The only garment of the five leaders consisted of three or four ell of orange-coloured cotton cloth. . . . Each of them had also a skin of a tiger upon the shoulders which was tied under the chin. They had eight fine horses, saddled and bridled, led by hand before them, three of which had bridles of gold, and the five others had bridles of silver, and the saddles also covered with plates of silver and a leopard skin on each. The other dervishes had for their sole garment a cord, which served as a waist-band, to which there was attached a small scrap of calico, to cover the parts which should be concealed. They were all well armed, the majority with bows and arrows, some with muskets, and the remainder with short pikes, and a kind of weapon which we have not got in Europe.”² He refers to the disc which we have already described.

Since the government of North India was then in Muslim hands, these Muslim ascetics were shielded from popular reprisal and from civil process by their sacred character. So long as they did not assail the government, they did what they liked with impunity.

By 1500 A.D., it is evident that there were immense numbers of armed faqirs and yogis wandering about in North India, and far down

¹ Barbosa, Stanley's edition, 99-100, quoted in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, xiv. 135 ff. See also Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*.

² Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Ball, I. 21.

the west coast. Faria¹ speaks of yogis, and also Kalandars, i.e. faqirs of the Qalandar² order, moving about in the Konkan in bands of 2000 or more, forcing the people to give them what they wanted; and Varthema³ tells of a yogi king out on a raid with 3000 followers as far south as Calicut. We must take these facts as proof that hordes of ascetics warriors marched far south along the west coast on plundering expeditions; but it is important to notice that the enlisting of ascetics as soldiers never infected to any extent the monastic orders of South India.⁴ The movement arose and spread and lived for centuries in the great northern area, where the Muslim government was struggling to maintain its supremacy and where in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it succumbed to the British.

C. We now turn to another group of Hindu monks. At the beginning of this article we saw how the most respected and most cultured order of ascetics, viz., the *sannyāsīs*, came into existence. By the sixteenth century they were found in large numbers in most parts of India, and they were specially numerous in the central part of North India, that section which contains the great cities, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi.

For many centuries only Brāhmins were initiated as *sannyāsīs*; and even in the case of Brāhmins care was taken to accept only men of some education and some philosophic interest. They were expected to study the chief texts of the Vedānta and to spend some part of their time in thoughtful meditation. A certain percentage of them proved fine scholars and wrote philosophic works of distinction. They have always been the most illustrious Hindu ascetics. In the sixteenth century they dressed, as they do to-day, in long saffron robes, and each man carried a single bamboo rod, *danda*, to indicate that he belonged to the *ekadaṇḍī*,⁵ or one-rod division, of the *sannyāsī* order. They were divided, as they are to-day, into ten sub-divisions, viz. : 1. *Tīrtha*, 2. *Āśrama*, 3. *Sarasvatī*, 4. *Bhārati*, 5. *Vana*,

¹ *History of the Konkan*, referred to in Kerr's *Voyages*, VI. 230.

² *Encyclo. Britt.*, iv. 76a.

³ Badger's *Varthema*, III. 273.

⁴ But there were a few bodies of armed Bairāgis and Sannyāsīs to be seen: Buchanan, *Journey*, I. 22, 303; II. 76.

⁵ The Ekadaṇḍī Sannyāsīs follow Śaṅkarāchārya in holding the *monistic* view of the Vedānta philosophy, while the Tridaṇḍīs or three-rod Sannyāsīs follow Rāmānujāchārya in holding the *theistic* view. The latter are found, almost exclusively, in South India.

6. *Aranya*, 7. *Parvata*, 8. *Sāgara*, 9. *Giri*, 10. *Purī*; and each man received a name which included the name of the sub-order to which he belonged. Thus *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* belonged to the third sub-order, the *Sarasvatī*.

Naturally, the armed faqirs, as they roamed about, found it very good sport to kill *sannyāsīs*. A group of these Hindu scholars would go down to the Ganges to bathe in the morning, when a company of faqirs would suddenly appear and kill them all. We can readily understand the indignation of the *sannyāsī* order and of the whole Hindu community when those highly respected men were murdered in this brutal and cowardly fashion. To the faqirs, as good Muslims, to kill those idolatrous infidels seemed to be the right thing to do; and the ordinary Muslim official would quite sympathise with them.

But Akbar was then on the Imperial throne, and he had already given his Hindu subjects a number of notable privileges. There were numerous Hindus who occupied high office in the government and in the army. Among all his courtiers the favourite seems to have been the cultured Hindu, *Rājā Birbal*. There had been no such Muslim emperor in India before.

At that time there lived in Benares a well-known *sannyāsī* scholar called *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī*. His books are well known to Sanskrit scholars to-day. He decided to try to persuade Akbar to do something to save *sannyāsīs* from these outrages. He therefore went to court and had an audience with the Emperor. *Rājā Birbal*, as a trusted adviser on Hindu questions, was present at the interview. *Madhusūdana* stated the grave danger in which *sannyāsīs* stood, since they were themselves defenceless, while there was no possibility of getting their enemies punished by law. *Rājā Birbal* then suggested that *Madhusūdana* should initiate large numbers of men of non-*Brāhman* caste as *sannyāsīs* and arm them, so that they might be ready at all times to defend *Brāhman sannyāsīs* from attack. The Emperor agreed to the proposal and promised that fighting *sannyāsīs* should be immune from prosecution, precisely like faqirs. I am inclined to date the interview about 1565 A.D.

The condition in which we find the *sannyāsīs* to-day shews us clearly what steps *Madhusūdana* took to carry out the plan. He found thousands of Hindus of *Kshatriya* and *Vaiśya* caste who were willing to become fighting men. These he initiated as *sannyāsīs*, so

that they became full members of the order ; but, since for some twelve or thirteen centuries it had been recognised as the law that only Brāhmans should be initiated, their initiation was held to be irregular. The sub-orders into which they were brought are numbers 4 to 10,¹ and these sub-orders as they exist in North India have therefore been recognised as “impure”² ever since those days.

Readers will not find this agreement between Akbar and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī mentioned in any historical work. So far as I know, it has not been recorded anywhere. I picked up the information from the lips of sannyāsīs, who told it me to explain how large numbers of their order came to be fighting men. But, though it has come down to us only by tradition, there can be no doubt about its truth. All sannyāsīs in North India hold the tradition ; and we may also be certain that the Emperor who had given the Hindu an equal place with the Muslim in his empire would at once recognise the justice of Madhusūdana’s appeal and would respond to it. But there is also an incident recorded in the Emperor’s life, which fits so well into the tradition that I am sure every historical mind will at once acknowledge that it ought to be accepted as full corroboration of the story.

The incident is described by Abul Fazl and other historical writers. Akbar was in camp at Thaneswar, north of Delhi, early in 1567 A.D. News was brought to him that two companies of armed sannyāsīs, *Giris* and *Purīs*,³ who had quarrelled about the possession of the gifts in the shrine of Thaneswar, were about to have a fight. Like the keen soldier he was, he at once went to witness the encounter. When he arrived, he found that the Purīs were outnumbered by the Giris, and he therefore ordered some of his own men to join the weaker side and redress the balance. The battle was fought, and the Purīs were victorious. In this fight some twenty men were killed. We are told that the emperor greatly enjoyed the spectacle.⁴ Since he had agreed to their organisation, in order that they might fight Muslim foes, he must have chuckled inwardly to see them turn their swords against each other.

It seems passing strange at first sight that an enlightened man like

¹ See above, p. 441-2.

² Sannyāsīs of this “impure” type are called *Atīta* in Sanskrit, as having “gone beyond” the rule.

³ See p. 441-2, above.

⁴ V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 78.

Akbar should tolerate such things in his empire instead of strengthening the law to deal vigorously with all breakers of the peace ! Yet he acted in harmony with the ideas of the times. It would not seem strange to sixteenth-century India that the Emperor should stand by and see a fight in which twenty men were done to death. It did not shock India of the sixteenth century, any more than duelling shocked England in the eighteenth century.

We thus conclude that, about 1565, large numbers of non-Brāhmans¹ were initiated as sannyāsīs and armed to fight Muslim faqirs. From this time onward for two and a half centuries we have abundance of information about their activity. There were immense numbers of fighting sannyāsīs. They went naked, like other fighting ascetics.²

Like yogīs, these fighting sannyāsīs were called *Gosains* (Sanskrit *Gosvāmī*) and also *Nāgās*, to distinguish them from the real sannyāsīs, who were still busy with philosophy.

No doubt these men soon gave a good account of themselves as soldiers. Evidence of their fine fighting qualities will be given towards the end of this paper. But within a few decades, like the faqirs and the yogīs, large numbers of them took to fighting on their own account and to a domestic life and trade, on lands which they had seized.

Tukārām, a famous Marāthī poet, who flourished about 1640 A.D., follows Kabīr in expressing a very healthy scorn for some of these men :—

Brother, we have become a Gosain and abandoned everything :

Patel—build us here a chapel ; bring *bhaṅg* and tobacco in plenty ;

Provide daily food for me, and send a sister to serve me.

Tukā said that such devotion resembled a mask worn at the Holi.³

D. We have thus far learned how the yogīs and the sannyāsīs became fighting men. We now turn to the devotees of Viṣṇu, who are called vairāgīs, passionless men, in the vernacular bairāgīs. Probably shortly after the time when Madhusūdana organised great

¹ It is probable that Madhusūdana initiated only Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, as the tradition maintains, but it is quite clear that at later dates Sūdras also were freely admitted.

² Grant Duff, *Mahrattas* (Oxford, 1921), I. 16 f. ; 436 ; 514 ; II. 189 f. ; 428 ; 471 ; Tod, *Rajasthan* (Oxford, 1920), II. 601 ; 642 ; III. 1670 ; 1673 ; Wilson, *Sects*, 238 ff. Sleeman, *Recollections* (Oxford, 1915), 218 ; 370 ; 592 n. ; Forbes, *Rās Mālā* (Oxford 1924), I. 358 ; 359 ; II. 40 ; 45.

³ Edwardes, Intro. to Grant Duff, *Mahrattas*, Oxford (1921), I. lxxviii.

numbers of fighting sannyāsīs, the movement spread to bairāgīs.¹ I think we may with safety conclude that by 1600 A.D. many of these had become armed also. The movement probably began with the Rāmānandī sect, which by this date was already very large; but Viṣṇusvāmīs,² Nimbārkas and Vallabhāchāryas³ also took to fighting. These bairāgī warriors soon became very numerous, almost as numerous as the armed sannyāsīs.

E. We have already heard of Kabīr, the man who opposed idolatry and caste and mingled Hindu and Muslim ideas in his system. Apart from his own immediate followers, who are called Kabīrpanthis, a number of other sects, large and small, arose from his influence. We have also seen Kabīr's scorn for the yogī who carries arms, seizes lands and lives no celibate life. In spite of that biting satire, many members of the sects which sprang from his teaching took up arms. So overpowering was the urge towards fighting in those days.

Ascetics belonging to these groups are called *sādhus*, the generic name for ascetics to-day. The most notable of these sects who took up arms were the Satnāmīs, the Dādūpanthīs and the Sikhs; and the change in all three cases seems to have come in the seventeenth century.

Of all these groups the Sikhs are the most interesting. Throughout the sixteenth century they were a pious Puritan community, drawn almost entirely from the peasantry of the Punjaub and eager only to live at peace with every one. During the reign of Akbar, 1556-1605 A.D., there was peace between the Mogul empire and the Sikhs; but immediately thereafter, suspicion and treachery arose, and there was frequent trouble. Finally under the tenth Guru, Govind Singh (1676-1708), relations became so seriously strained that the Guru created an order of fighting ascetics, the *Akālīs*, i.e. the Immortals, and many men belonging to the older groups of ascetics among the Sikhs (especially the Udāsīs) also took to arms. Hence the Sikh church practically became an army. Still later, under Rañjit Singh, early in the nineteenth century, the Sikhs ruled the Punjaub; and they finally fought two stubborn wars with the British before they would consent to give up aggressive war.

¹ Grant Duff, *Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921, I. 15; 17; *Asiatic Researches*, VI. 309; Sleeman, *Recollections* (Oxford, 1915), 300; 370; 591; 592 n Wilson, *Sects*, 238 ff.

² Tod, *Rajasthan*, Oxford, II. 1081.

³ *Ibid.*, 642.

All the fighting groups had a good deal in common. They all went naked, or next to naked, and were therefore called *nāgās*, "naked men." A very large number of them used hemp drugs, and the yogīs drank strong drink freely. Their weapons were bow and arrow, sword, spear and shield, chakras, and now and then firearms. Before they went into battle, they painted their faces and their bodies, so as to give them a fearsome appearance; and they raised most unearthly yells as they rushed to the charge. Many of them cultivated beards with projecting whiskers to make them look still more frightful.

All these fresh groups of armed ascetics frequently fought on their own account, seized lands and settled down to trading, agriculture and money-lending. There is evidence that large numbers of all the fighting groups formed settlements of this nature. Traces are found of them in nearly all parts of North India. In many cases monasteries were built on the lands thus seized, and an attempt was made to continue the ascetic life. They recruited their numbers by buying or stealing, during their raids, the healthiest children they could find.

But though a considerable proportion remained celibate, vast numbers married and formed families. They thus became very like the ordinary Hindu householder. But one noticeable point of difference remained. In becoming ascetics they had lost their caste status. Thus, although they had become householders, they could not return to their old castes. The result was that each local group gradually developed into a new caste, the yogīs forming the Yogī caste, the sannyāsīs the Sannyāsī or the Gosain caste, and the bairāgīs the Bairāgī or the Vaishṇava caste. Thus in most Gazetteers from Assam to the Punjab, and south as far as Central India and the Marāṭhā country, these castes are noticed. Within the Sannyāsī caste, each family is usually called by the name of the sub-order to which it belonged, whether Bhārati, Purī or what not. There are many of these irregular Sannyāsī families to be found in Nepal also. The men may marry or remain celibate as they please; but, married or single, they are usually employed as ministrants in Śaiva temples. Men of the same type perform a similar function in Assam, and in some other parts of India.¹

These agricultural and mercantile settlements usually prospered. Most men made a good livelihood, many became well-to-do and a few

¹ Cf. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, II. 308, 309, 310.

very rich. Many traded in a special commodity, e.g. opium¹ or precious stones. In the widespread fighting in India between 1750 and 1817, individual sannyāsīs, yogīs and bairāgīs would be found who were quite ready to finance a campaign.² They frequently marched about levying heavy contributions; and are said to have been guilty of every enormity. Sir Lepel Griffin³ says of the Sikh Akālīs, "these men, excited by hemp, were generally the first to storm a town, and often did excellent service; but they were lawless and uncertain, and in peaceful times enjoyed almost boundless licence."

Tavernier⁴ says that it was estimated in his day (early seventeenth century) that there were in India 800,000 Muslim faqirs and 1,200,000 Hindu ascetics. If this is trustworthy, there were two million ascetics in India, the vast majority of them ready to fight at a moment's notice.

F. It may be interesting to mention the most prominent battles fought by ascetic soldiers. The record is very irregular and scanty as yet: perhaps this paper may lead to the discovery of many other battles.

a. There was a battle at Hastinapur between faqirs and Hindu ascetics in 1558 A.D.

b. In the seventeenth century, the only great fight between ascetics which I have met in my reading, took place at Narnol, south of Delhi, in 1673, between a large mass of Satnāmīs and a section of the army of Aurungzebe, when the Satnāmīs were decisively defeated and many thousands of them slain.⁵

c. Writing in the eleventh volume of *Asiatic Researches*, Captain Raper says⁶ that, during the time of Marāṭhā government in North India, a large force of sannyāsīs of the Giri sub-order⁷ seized Hardwar, collected all the dues and policed the fair. They had to fight many actions in defence of their position, but they maintained the sovereignty for many years. The bairāgīs endeavoured to oust them from Hardwar at the Kumbh Mela of 1760, but were severely defeated in a bloody contest, in which it is said 18,000 bairāgīs were left dead on the field.

¹ Tod, *Rājasthan*, III. 1670.

² Meadows Taylor, *Story of my Life*, 146; 179; 183-7; 236.

³ *Life of Rājājī Singh*.

⁴ *Travels in India* (Ball), II. 178.

⁵ V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 428; Jadunath Sirkar in *Modern Review*, 1916, 383.

⁶ P. 455.

⁷ See p. 442 above.

d. At the battle of Patna in May 1764, when Major Carnac defeated the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Malleson tells us that "a body of five thousand fanatics, all perfectly naked, and covered with paint and ashes," who were fighting on the side of the Nawab Wazir, "rushed forward with great impetuosity, with wild shrieks and gestures, presenting a very formidable appearance, but the English received them with a volley so well directed, that many of them were laid low and the remainder scattered in disorder."¹ No indication is given to enable us to decide to which order of ascetics these wild warriors belonged.

e. In 1766, James Rennell, the famous geographer of the rivers of North India, was nearly cut to pieces in an encounter with ascetics in Kooch Behar.

f. For several years, before and after 1770, great hordes of armed sannyāsīs infested Bengal. Appearing suddenly in a district, they would burn, plunder and ravage without mercy or measure. On one occasion they plundered Dacca, which was then a wealthy city. The income of the British Government in Bengal was seriously curtailed in consequence more than once.² The memory of this horror still survives in Bengal and is called The Sannyāsī Rebellion.³ Hastings finally put them down.

g. In 1778, General Goddard, in his march through Bundelkhand, was attacked by 2,000 sannyāsīs.⁴

h. In 1779 a body of Vishnusvāmī ascetics entered the service of Bijai Singh of Marwar.⁵ Some Vishnusvāmī ascetics were still employed as State Sepoys when the Census Report of 1891 was written.

i. In 1789, Mahadaji Sindhia, while reorganising his army, introduced large numbers of sannyāsīs and placed them under Himmudt Bahadur, who acted as their guru as well as their commander. His monastery was the Abhāna Ākharā of Jhansi. Until this date very few fighting ascetics had appeared in the Marāṭhā armies.⁶

j. In 1796, some 12,000 Sikh cavalry, under an Udāsi leader, attacked the various groups of armed ascetics at Hardwar, and killed

¹ *Decisive Battles of India*, 189-191.

² Trotter, *Warren Hastings*, 70.

³ See Bāṅkim Ch. Chatterji's *Ānandamathā*, Appendix.

⁴ Pennant, *Hindusthan*, II. 192.

⁵ Tod, *Rajasthan*, III. 1082.

⁶ Grant Duff, *Mahrattas*, II. 189.

500 of them. The Sikhs were finally driven off, losing 20 men killed.¹

k. In 1803 Gosain Himmudt Bahadur, who had been leader of Sindhia's sannyāsi force but had quarrelled with him, helped to conquer Bundelkhand for the British.²

l. In 1809 a force of Sikh Akālis attacked Metcalfe's Muham-madan escort.³

m. In 1817 at the battle of Kirkee, a strong force of sannyāsi infantry fought on the side of the Peishwa.⁴

n. In 1823, Mahārāja Rañjit Singh, the King of the Punjab, succeeded in making the city and province of Peshawar tributary to him. But an Afghan leader, disgusted with the new arrangement, raised an army and met the king in battle near Naoshera, midway between the Indus and Peshawar. Sir Lepel Griffin in his *Life of Rañjit Singh*, in the Rulers of India Series, remarks, "The Akālis, the Sikh fanatics, and the Ghazis, the devotees of Islam, met in fair fight, which resulted in the repulse of the former with the loss of their much feared leader Phula Singh." Clearly, these Afghan Ghazis belong to the type of naked Muslim ascetic warriors which we have met so often.

o. The ascetics of the Svāmī-Nārāyaṇī sect, which was formed in Gujarat about 1804, were originally armed; and there are records of great fights about 1830 between them and bairāgis⁵ (most probably Vallabhāchāryas).

When the British became supreme in India, the armed ascetics in most cases gave up all attempt to live as soldiers and settled down in cities or on the land. For many decades they retained their arms and frequently used them. They still carried arms, when Wilson wrote about them in 1832.⁶ They remained wild, lawless groups, constantly engaged in conspiracies, in private feuds, in murders and raids. They were often used as spies. Vivid pictures of them may be found in the literature, especially in many passages in *Pandurāṅg*

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, VI. 309; *Saharanpur Gazetteer*, 1875, p. 291.

² Grant Duff, *Mahrattas*, I. 357.

³ Sir Lepel Griffin, *Rañjit Singh*, 136.

⁴ Grant Duff, *Mahrattas*, II. 428.

⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xiv. 136.

⁶ *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, 238.

Hari (1826), Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections* (1844), Meadows Taylor's *Story of my Life* (1874) and Sir Bartle Frere's *Introduction* to the 1876 edition of *Panduraṅg Hari*.

By the middle of the nineteenth century most of the fighting groups had given up the old life ; for the British administration does not allow men to wander about the streets naked, nor do they permit people to carry dangerous arms about, unless they have government licences ; yet interesting traces of these old days may still be seen in many places.

A. Yogīs. I have several times met individual yogīs belonging to the most shameless class of all ; but they are extremely respectable to-day. In their monasteries you do not find them naked, nor do they have arms about, at least so far as I have seen. But there is one monastery in Benares belonging to the old Kāpālikas, now called Aghorīs, where a good deal of the old foul life still goes on, drink, women¹ and shamelessness. I found a yogī there one day and had a talk with him. He was very reticent, but he readily shewed me the human skull which he used as a drinking cup.

B. Sannyāsīs. There are vast numbers of nāgā sannyāsīs (i.e. non-Brāhman sannyāsīs, modern successors of the fighters) to be found in monasteries all over North India ; but if you met them in ordinary circumstances, you would see nothing very noticeable in their appearance. Yet there are many monasteries where they keep their old arms. Shortly before I left India, I paid a visit to Jaipur. My excellent host drove me to the old deserted capital, Amber, some five or six miles distant. The palace is still in good repair, but most of the houses and temples are falling to pieces. He took me to an old disused Jain temple, an excellent piece of architecture, which it was a pleasure to inspect. We went inside, and there we found about a dozen nāgā sannyāsīs sitting about, wearing clothes and looking very like ordinary mortals. But on the walls hung swords, spears, muskets and other arms, all that remains of their old military life.

A huge gathering of Hindu ascetics of all types is held once in four years at Allahabad. I had the pleasure of visiting the gathering in 1918. There we found a vast assemblage of *sannyāsīs* of two

¹ Govinda Dās, *Hinduism*, 337, says, "A festival is held every year, when all the prostitutes of the city gather there."

very different types. The first type were dressed in long saffron robes, and, when they moved about, each carried a long bamboo rod in his hand : these are the legitimate sannyāsīs, all Brāhmins, all scholarly in some degree : these are the people whom the Muslim faqirs of the sixteenth century thought it such sport to kill.

But there were far larger numbers of nāgā sannyāsīs, the men who represent the fighting sannyāsīs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were many thousands of them, and they sat about on the sand, in nearly all cases, stark naked. That was the mark of their old life. They would not be allowed to walk about naked in towns, as they used to do ; but, at this noted ascetic assembly, they were allowed to retain their nakedness. They held a great procession daily, wearing literally nothing. Men, women and children stood looking on unmoved. One group¹ wore a sort of uniform and executed a fine military dance.

The Malkana Rajputs are a set of Hindus who, some considerable time ago, became Muslims, but have retained rather large pieces of Hinduism in their practice ; so that they are usually called "half-converted." Some nāgā sannyāsīs, remembering the struggles of their predecessors with the Muslims, are now endeavouring by means of *Suddhi*, a purificatory ceremony, to bring them back to Hinduism.

C. Bairāgīs. A similar tale may be told of the devotees of Vishnu, the bairāgīs. You may find arms here and there on the walls of their monasteries, mementoes of the fighting times, but in ordinary circumstances you would see nothing else to recall their old warrior status. At the great gathering at Allahabad, however, I found thousands on thousands of them sitting about stark naked, like the sannyāsīs. It was, however, quite easy to distinguish them from sannyāsīs ; for every single bairāgī wore his sect-mark² painted on his forehead. Most of them went still further : they had their faces painted all over with bright coloured chalks or paint, pink and blue and yellow and red and green ; these are mementoes of the days when their predecessors rushed to battle with their whole bodies painted like savages.

Considerable numbers of Vishṇusvāmīs are still in state service

¹ Probably Alakhgirs (i.e. disciples of a nāgā sannyāsī belonging to the Giri sub-order) see ERE. s.v. *Alakhnāmīs*.

² In most cases Ramānandī.

in Marwar, Bundi and Kotah ; there are also a number of Nimbārkas in the Jaipur state service : these are Rajput states.

C. Sādhus. We take next the groups that trace their religion back to Kabir. Great numbers of these men, successors of the sādhus who fought in the wars, are still in state service in Rajputana. The most noteworthy group is a body of Dādūpanthis at Jaipur, where they act as State Tax Collectors. If you went to see one of these men in his monastery or his office, you would take him for an ordinary Hindu ; but when he is present at some state ceremony, or when he goes on a journey, he appears in white garments with a sash round his waist and a tulwar, or curved sword, hanging by his side. Some of them still cultivate the fierce beard and side whiskers which were worn by their predecessors in the wars.

D. Akālis. I once met one of the chief Akālis resplendent in full dress in the Mall, Lahore. He was a man of magnificent physique. He wore a long coat of navy blue cloth and a dark conical cap, which was encased in a sort of open helmet formed of steel discs and bars. In his hand he carried a huge baton of dark wood beautifully mounted in silver.

Not in such dress have the Akālis been pursuing their recent crusade in the Punjaub. While there has been great excitement, the leaders have done their best to make the movement truly peaceful and to keep the Akālis from violence.

A RUSSIAN SHAKESPEREAN.

A CENTENARY STUDY

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DEDICATED to the memory of Arthur Skemp.

Arthur Rowland Skemp, a former student of the writer's at the University of Manchester, afterwards professor of English at the University of Bristol, fell in battle in November 1918. The University of Bristol has since established a series of Skemp Memorial lectures, to be delivered there biennially. The present lecture, delivered at Bristol by the invitation of the University early in the present year, was the first of the series.

Mr. Vice-chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply honoured by your invitation to deliver the first of the Memorial lectures which you have founded in commemoration of our lost friend, once my pupil, Arthur Rowland Skemp. What I wish to say of him I shall, with your permission, reserve to the close, and enter without further preface upon my subject,—an episode in the story, not wholly unlike his, of a poet, a patriot, and a soldier, cut off even more tragically in his splendid prime

I.

I will ask you to cast your minds with me through some two thousand miles of space to the north-east, and exactly a hundred years backward in time. In a large country house, the seignorial mansion of the village of Michaelovskoe, in the Baltic province of Pskov in north-west Russia, a young Russian nobleman sat, in the summer of 1825, at work upon a tragedy. Alexander Sergejevich Pushkin, then aged twenty-six, was already a poet famous in society and a dangerous person in the eyes of the Tsar, whose sentence of banishment to a

remote province he was now in fact undergoing. This tragedy, the principal fruit of his exile, reflects both preoccupations; for it is permeated by the influence of Shakespeare, then at the height of his vogue in literary Russia; and Shakespeare is for him above all the dramatic historian of those English Plantagenet kings who most nearly recall the Tsars of Muscovy.

Both the cosmopolitan Russia which faced the West and its civilisation, and the Russia of native tradition, which faced the East and the past, had their part in the making of her greatest poet, and shared, if unequally, in the moulding of his principal drama. In Moscow, Pushkin's birthplace, the two Russias met in picturesque encounter, and more nearly on equal terms than anywhere else. In the vast patriarchal mansions of the nobility the old Russia of folklore and folk-custom lived on intact in the servants' quarters; while the Russia of European culture held uncontested sway in the salon. It was in one of these patriarchal mansions that Alexander Pushkin, on May 26, 1799, was born, and the two cultures mingled to an unusual degree in the atmosphere in which he grew up. Neglected by his parents up to his seventh year, he was thrown upon the company of two elderly dependants of the household, Marya Alekseyevna and Arina Rodionovna. Marya was a woman of large experience and keen wits, whose memory was crowded with the stirring events of her youth, and with the traditions and customs of the Russian society of the eighteenth century. Arina, his nurse, later celebrated by him in song, a yet more frequent type of the aged servants of Russian patriarchal homes, was a mine of traditional folklore and fairy tales, whose every sentence was a rustic proverb or byword.¹ But the Pushkin palace was also a focus of the fashion and the letters of the capital. There, as a boy, he met the famous historian Karamzin, the leading figure in Moscow letters, and an enthusiastic Shakesperean who was to befriend him in after life. Various tutors and governesses helped to equip him with the tongues of cultivated Europe; he learned German with reluctance, became a perfect master of French, and acquired (with a Miss Bailey) at least the elements of English. But already at twelve he was withdrawn completely from the native and old-world influence of his Moscow environment, and plunged into the European milieu of a fashionable and aristocratic Lyceum near St. Petersburg. Seven years later, at the

¹ Skabichevsky's *Sketch of Pushkin's Life*, prefixed to his *Works*.

close of his course, he entered the society of the northern capital, and flung himself, with the perilous privilege of his birth and rank, into the whirl of its amusements, interests, and dissipations.

The St. Petersburg of 1817 was still that 'open window upon Europe' which its founder had designed it to be. All through the eighteenth century its society, brilliantly polished at the surface, if infantine or savage at the core, had watched Europe through that open window, and few observers anywhere in Europe were more intimately acquainted with every part of the commanding prospect, or followed with more understanding its changing moods. They read Addison's *Spectator*, like the ladies of Kensington, over their breakfast-tables, were thrilled by the tragedy of *Clarissa*, fed the luxury of grief on Young's *Night Thoughts*, and discovered the charm of 'Sentimentality' in Sterne's *Journey*; *Candide* and the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and the *Sorrows of Werther* were as familiar in St. Petersburg as at Paris or Berlin; and the most original man of genius in France, Denis Diderot, had become the guest of the imperial blue-stocking Catherine II, who, in the intervals of importing English racehorses and Wedgwood china, signing death-warrants and writing bad verses, held vehement debate on equal terms with her eloquent and pugnacious guest over a table, fortunately interposed. In the eighties this society discovered Shakespeare, and Catherine translated the *Merry Wives*, not the less willingly perhaps, because another great queen was said to have commanded it from Shakespeare himself.

The European war, in the issue of which Russia was to play so fateful a part, did not check the tide of European influence. But it added volume and momentum to the current derived from England, and diminished the vogue of that derived from France. The year 'Twelve' which saw the Russian triumph so magnificently told by Tolstoy, almost coincided with the phenomenal apparition of Byron; and Byron, the poet of revolution, became the idol of a society intoxicated with national exultation. What Herzen has called the golden age of Russian literature, the dozen years which intervened between the great 'Year Twelve' and the beginning of the iron despotism of Nicholas I in 1825, was the age of a triumphant romanticism on which Byron set the stamp of his rhetorical splendour, his demoniac personality, and his defiance of accepted canons in art and life. In St. Petersburg, if anywhere in Europe, Byronism was to be seen in

action. And Byronism itself provided a brilliant mirror for the purpose.

The young poet who now, at eighteen, entered this society has left an enduring description of it. In the First Canto of his masterpiece, *Eugénie Onyégine*, written six years later, its outward splendour and inner corruption are displayed with a union of wit, eloquence and poetry which presuppose *Don Juan*; but it is *Don Juan* not so much imitated as emulated, by a man of equal genius, still in his earliest prime. And Pushkin, young as he was, knew the society he painted. The best houses were open to him, and he mingled without reserve in the wildest orgies of gilded youth. He had not a trace of the temper which led his contemporaries Wordsworth, Shelley, and even Byron himself at moments,—the Byron of *Manfred* and the Third Canto of *Child Harold*—into the solitude of Nature. The roar of a great city, the talk and music and dance in crowded drawing-rooms, the midnight revel of the clubs, drew him irresistibly; and to their fascination was soon added the subtler lure of applause. He threw off verses, satires, epigrams in great and facile abundance, and became a literary lion before he was twenty.

But this impetuous career underwent, in 1820, a sudden check. A satire imprudently outspoken awakened the attention of the fatherly Tsar, Alexander I. 'We must send this young man to Siberia,' said the ruler, now in his old age a devout mystic, and more than ever concerned to bring his erring children to reason. But Pushkin's old schoolmaster, and his father's friend Karamzin, intervened, and the sentence was changed to an appointment in the south, as a clerk in the local administration at Kishinev and Odessa. It was a mild banishment, which permitted him to travel by way of the Caucasus, and to spend delightful weeks in the house of his friend Rayevsky, on the beautiful shore of the Black Sea, translating Voltaire and learning to read Byron in the original.¹ The four following years developed still further the unsolved dilemmas of Pushkin's complex and fiery nature. His escapades in the motley cosmopolitan society of Kichinev and of the great Black Sea port were the despair of his official chief. But all the time he was producing lyrics and verse-tales of classical finish and beauty. It is

¹ Skabichevsky, *u.s.*, § iv.: 'Praktikovalsja v Angliiskom yazyke, i eta praktika sostoyala v chtenii Bairona.' This is important as bearing on his power to read Shakespeare in the original.

natural to think of the life that Byron was leading, in these very years in Italy, and the whole society which Pushkin frequented and led was here as in the capital passionately Byronist. But the parallel is incomplete. Pushkin's outward life resembled Byron's as much as the excesses of a young civil servant can resemble those of a nobleman of fortune. But there is nothing dissolute in Pushkin's verse. Byron's artistry, whatever his genius, was as imperfect as his moral self-control. His splendours are mostly impulsive or capricious, like his noble deeds, and intermingled, like them, with abysmal falls. His style is rich, coloured, figurative, charged with a rhetoric sometimes inspired, sometimes meretricious. But Pushkin, during these days of boisterous adventure, was giving the first example in Russia of a poetry classically pure, simple, reticent, flawless, and this in a generation carried away by the Romantic cult of whatever, in style or subject, is violent, emphatic, and impassioned, or mysterious, suggestive, indefinite, and incomplete.

Once more, however, the incurable exuberance of Pushkin the young official deflected the fortunes of Pushkin the impeccable poet. Some of his classically chaste and flawless verses having taken the annoying form of a satire on his chief, Count Vorontsov, the latter complained to St. Petersburg. Even more shocking to the devout government of Alexander was a letter, opened in the post, from Pushkin himself to an intimate friend, in which the poet described himself as 'taking lessons in pure atheism' from an Englishman who had 'proved' it in a book of a thousand pages. Incidentally we learn from the same letter that he was reading Shakespeare, as well as Goethe and the Bible: unluckily he added that he preferred both the two former to the last.¹ The Foreign Minister of all the Russias and his official deputy in Odessa discussed in horrified tones what must be done to prevent this double offender from encouraging the others. They decided to send him, in forced retirement, to his father's country house, at the family village of Michaelovskoe, near Pskov, in N.W. Russia. On July 30, 1824, he set out on his journey, of nearly a thousand miles, by a route carefully prescribed to prevent any meetings with evil-minded, or unduly impressionable friends, on the way; and on August 9 he arrived. In spite of painful friction with his father, a timid conservative, who saw in his son's disgrace a prelude to his own ruin, Pushkin's

¹ Letter to an unknown friend in Moscow, from Odessa, March-April, 1824.

two years at Michaelovskoe were the happiest and most fruitful of his short life. They are vividly reflected in the picture of his hero's life in the country in the Fourth Canto of *Onyégín*. Rising early, after a bathe in the river or in an ice-cold bath, he spent the morning in writing, the afternoon in long walks or rides, always with poetry as his companion, and the evening in talks with his old nurse Arina, now housekeeper, but still the mine of folklore and country ways and sayings that he had known as a child; or in the convivial and congenial society of a neighbouring country-house.¹ To be sure the *rus inficetum* was not his affair, and he longed for the roar of town. But such a retreat, with leisure, society, and solitude, friends, books, and poetry without stint, was no unendurable punishment for a young poet lately tied to an office-desk in Odessa.

II.

It was under such conditions that Pushkin came at length seriously under the spell of Shakespeare. And somewhat strangely, as it may seem to us, the part of Shakespeare which specially arrested and impressed this Russian was the part which is most purely, almost provincially English, those 'long jars' of York and Lancaster of which Ben Jonson spoke so disdainfully,—the sequence of the Plantagenet Histories.

But it is not difficult to see why, in Shakespeare's work at large and the Histories in particular, Pushkin found great poetry shaped out of an experience and a cast of genius which in at least four points touched his own. At these four points there was fertilizing contact; and these still imperfectly vitalized aspects of his experience and genius became articulated and explicit in Pushkin's original creation.

1. He found in the Histories the poetry of the *national past*. The Russian national past, represented by its folklore and feudal traditions, had been familiar to Pushkin from boyhood; Shakespeare showed him, as he had shown Goethe in *Goetz* and Schiller in *Wallenstein*, and was already showing to the French Romantics, what treasures were to be won from the drama of the national political history.

¹ The two daughters of this family, Anna and Evpratsia Osipov, were the originals of Tatiana and Olga in *Eugénie Onyégín*.

2. The drama of Russian political history was, even more than that of Plantagenet England, woven of sanguinary dynastic feuds. Pushkin in his own person had known something of the arbitrariness of autocracy. The history of crimes like those of a John or a Richard III had, for the subjects of Alexander I, the fascination of experiences which might at any moment be their own.

3. Shakespeare's Histories move almost wholly in the great world of nobles and statesmen. Pushkin already as a young man had mixed intimately in the corresponding world of St. Petersburg. His own ancestor Pushkin had played a great part under the Tsar Ivan the Terrible and his successor. Shakespeare's Histories showed him how the plots and intrigues of high life could be turned into living drama.

4. (and this was the greatest thing): Pushkin found in Shakespeare a drama which was fundamentally real; a creation like life, not a projection of his own personality under other names; and a drama which was not *afraid* of reality or of any part of it. In the light of Shakespeare's profound veracity Byron now looked meretricious and even Corneille and Racine stilted and artificial. The great Spaniards he did not know, but all other dramatists grew pale in comparison. 'I have not read Calderon nor Lope,' he wrote to a friend in September, 1825, 'but what a man is this Shakespeare! I can't get away from him! How poor is Byron as a tragic poet beside him; Byron never conceived but one character.'¹

It was under the influence of these four attractions that Pushkin, in the course of his sojourn at Michaelovskoe in 1825, formed and executed the plan of making a historical tragedy of the usurpation of Boris Godunov. It went swiftly, and without effort, as one supposes Shakespeare's did. 'I am alone,' he writes that summer, 'with no company but my cat and an old housekeeper. But my Tragedy goes ahead and I am happy.'

¹ To N. N. Rayevsky, Sept. 1825. "Other dramatists, he goes on (and he is still thinking chiefly of Byron), when they have conceived a character, insist on making everything he says bear its impress. A conspirator says, 'Give me some drink' in his quality of conspirator, and it is only absurd. Hence their stiffness and timidity in dialogue. But read Shakespeare, he is never afraid of compromising his men; he makes them talk with all the impulsiveness of life, being confident that they will speak in character when place and time require."

III.

Let us glance first at the subject of this tragedy. Boris Godunov's story is well known in England from a famous Russian opera.¹ Enough to say that this powerful and astute man seized the throne of Muscovy after the death of Ivan the Terrible in 1598. He secured his position, as he thought, by having Ivan's lawful heir Dmitri, a boy of twelve, secretly murdered. He is accepted as Tsar, by the Church, nobles, and people. But he has no friends. The nobles fawn on him, but he knows, and they know that he knows, and he knows that they know that he knows, that they are playing their game, and biding their time. The people are malleable, their hearts are easily won, and no less easily lost. For five years (1598 to 1603) he holds his ground. Then appears a Pretender, professing to be Ivan's son and rightful heir, the boy universally believed to have been murdered. He is in reality a young monk, with a genius too daring for the cloister. This 'False Dmitri' escapes to Poland, the hereditary foe of Russia, where he is received with open arms and equipped with an army and a bride. He then marches on Moscow, nobles and people turn against Boris, and the usurper and his children are destroyed.

It is easy for us to see, as Pushkin saw, that this lurid passage of Russian history is almost a transcript, in Russian terms, of the type of situation to which Shakespeare in the Histories most constantly recurs. From *King John* to *Richard III*, through all that surging complexity of historic circumstance, we are occupied with a dynastic struggle for power, a struggle carried on most often by men whose own possession of power is precarious, or unlawful, or both. The great sequence of nine plays opens with a challenge to one usurper and ends with the overthrow of another. John has usurped his throne, Richard II is driven from his, Henry IV displaces by force the king by right, and involves his successors in his wrong. Henry V, at the height of his power, prays that God's anger may not be visited on him at Agincourt. Henry VI

¹ *Boris Godunov* was taken as the basis of an opera to which two of the greatest of Russian composers have contributed, Mussorgski's *Boris Godunov* was produced at the Imperial Theatre Marie at St. Petersburg in 1874; it was received with enthusiasm by the younger generation and performed twenty times in the same season. Twenty years later, in 1896, the orchestration was remodelled by Rimski Korsakov. (C. Nabokoff in *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 19 June, 1924.)

is destroyed by the enemies of his House, and Richard III, the destroyer, himself usurps the throne and is himself destroyed. Two of these usurping kings try to secure themselves by secretly putting the rightful heirs, young boys, to death ; and the murder both of Arthur and of the young princes in the Tower is the false step which makes the ruin of John and of Richard inevitable. We have searching glimpses into their minds as they contrive these crimes, or shudder at the memory of them, or are struck with fear at the menace of the Nemesis they had not foreseen ; we see John dropping his dark hints to Hubert, Richard with more cynical self-possession, but still in a whisper, giving his death-commission to Tyrrell. All these rulers, again, have to face, master, or make terms with, the same formidable peril,—the power of their own nobles. John, Richard II, Henry VI, and Richard III after a struggle succumb ; Henry IV after a struggle masters them ; Henry V wins them to his side.

It is easy, then, to understand how the story of events like these, re-enacted for Pushkin in the living pageant of Shakespeare's Histories, would illuminate for him the kindred story of Boris. In that story, too, he found material for just what was most exciting to him in Shakespeare, because most consonant with his own gifts and his own experiences,—national traditions, dynastic feuds, diplomatic finesse.

No doubt these similar events happen in a political environment profoundly different. A Russian Tsar was more dangerous, and also less secure, than an English king. He had absolute power, but he had not either with or against him the strength of enthroned law and established custom. When Henry V succeeds his father, he laughs at the fears of those who expected him like the Turk to send his rivals to the block :—

Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
But Harry Harry,

and a like contrast held between England and Boris's and Pushkin's Russia. In the tenser atmosphere of peril and fear created by autocracy, political rivalry becomes more secret, strategy more profound ; appearances more deceptive, professions more hollow. Pushkin, too, an aristocrat and a descendant of one of Boris's bitterest opponents, could interpret Boris's dilemmas and strategy from a nearer vantage-ground than any from which the Stratford player could interpret those of Richard or John.

But in the story of Boris, Pushkin also saw an opening for that which, as I said just now, most deeply impressed and kindled him in Shakespeare, his fearless truth within the sphere of poetry. He approached Shakespeare, we must remember, from the side of Racine, whose characters he wrongly regarded as abstract types, and of Byron, who could draw, he thought, only one character, his own. He saw, (as the letter to Rayevsky quoted above shows) that Shakespeare's characters were not only infinitely various, but that, like real men and women, though always true to their character, they were not always exemplifying it. That Shakespeare's conspirators, for instance, as in *Julius Cæsar*, are not, like Jonson's, too absorbed in their task to do anything but conspire. They will conspire with entire competence when the time comes ; but meanwhile they are cool and detached enough to talk about the weather or to discuss at what point of the horizon the sun will rise. His heroic figures can unbend ; his villains can be gay and jocular ; Cæsar has sublime, but also childish, moments. And then, Pushkin revelled in Shakespeare's fearless introduction of everything in life that he wanted for his play,—homely folks, like the cobbler who exchanges gibes with the tribune, or the rustic scarecrows whom Falstaff leads to Shrewsbury ; fools and clowns and gravediggers ; and then his delightful children,—Brutus's boy Lucius overcome by sleep as he reads, or little York gaily chaffing uncle Richard.

All this has left its decisive mark on the characterisation of Pushkin's Tragedy. The persons are not only numerous, but every one is individual. He shows us the crafty tyrant Boris, for instance, in undress, in his nursery amusing himself with his boy and girl. And being no docile copyist, but a rather headstrong and self-assertive young man, he sometimes goes beyond Shakespeare on Shakespeare's own path—introducing, for instance, not only children but a baby in arms, coaxed and threatened by its mother.

And he carries out too in a way of his own the veracity which he rightly recognised in Shakespeare's dramatic speech. Shakespeare can make a highly figured diction, which no one would ever use in ordinary life, seem natural, because it is charged with the emotion which the speaker feels, but which ordinary words only haltingly convey. But Pushkin seeks the same truth by way of a perfectly limpid and unadorned simplicity. Such unforgettable lines as Elizabeth's

address to the Tower, as her two boys are led in, never to return alive—

‘Rude ragged nurse, old sullen playfellow
For tender princes, use my babies well,’

could never be found in Pushkin.

That Pushkin did not employ this simple, unadorned dramatic speech merely from the realist’s desire to imitate life as literally as possible is plain from his habitual use of *verse*. He follows Shakespeare’s example both in adopting this ideal form for the most part, and in not adopting it uniformly. Most of the scenes are in blank verse, which Pushkin was among the first to use in Russian, as Lessing fifty years before had been in German; and his blank verse, like Lessing’s, is noble and beautiful, if rarely touched with Shakespearean magic. But Pushkin, contrary to all but Elizabethan precedent, intermingles the blank-verse scenes with scenes in prose; while an occasional scene in lyric stanzas can only be partially paralleled, even amongst the Elizabethans, by the banquet scene in *Romeo and Juliet* or the scene with Adriana in the *Comedy of Errors*.

Lastly, there were features in the story of Boris which had no parallel in Shakespeare’s Histories. Such was the old convent chronicler Pimen, who had witnessed the murder of the boy, the son of Tsar Ivan and the rightful heir, and recorded it in his chronicle for posterity to know; such was the heroine, Marina, a type of worldly coquette unknown to Shakespeare; while the Pretender’s adventures and character resemble those of the French, rather than the English, Henry IV, and are confessedly reproduced with him in mind.¹

IV.

I now propose to summarise the play itself, translating portions of a few crucial and characteristic scenes in the metre of the original.² It consists of some twenty-four scenes, about the number usual in a Shakespearean play, but not divided into acts. The action opens at the moment when Boris is being urged to accept the Tsardom, and is

¹ App. § 5.

² These scenes were translated without any knowledge of Mr. Hayes’s excellent version of the entire play. Subsequent comparison has enabled me to correct some inaccuracies. In a few passages the version is compressed.

refusing the offered crown more stubbornly than Cæsar (*Jul. Cæs.*, l., 2), and with even better reason. For Cæsar has only to conciliate republican suspicion; Boris has to silence the suspicion that he has murdered the little Tsarevitch. For what could be his motive, people are meant to ask, if he will not be Tsar himself? Two of the nobles, Shuisky and Voratynski, are discussing the situation. Shuisky, the astutest of the court circle, and the most intimate with Boris, is convinced that he is the murderer, but holds the secret for future use, assuming meantime a show of devoted loyalty. The scene then changes to an open Place, where the ceremonial humbug of the proffered, refused, and finally accepted crown is being enacted before the eyes of the Moscow populace, assembled in their thousands to watch and applaud. Most of them are eager that he should accept, but there are some caustic fellows too who only feign devotion. A few sentences will illustrate how far Pushkin, with *Julius Cæsar* in mind, was ready to go beyond Shakespeare in that realistic painting of the humours of a crowd, which had offended the classicist taste of Voltaire :

BORIS.

Cit. How is it going?

Second Cit.

Still

He holds off obdurately, but there's hope.

Woman (with a child).

Tu, tu! don't cry! See boggy, boggy, coming,

He'll carry thee off with him! Tu, tu, . . . don't cry!

First. C. Can't we get nearer in beyond the fence?

Second C. Impossible! Why the whole place is thronged.

All Moscow's crowded here. See, walls and roofs

And every story of the belfry spire,

The domes of churches, and the very crosses

Are crammed with people. . . .

First. What is that noise?

Second. Ay hark . . . what is that noise?

The people's murmur; there they fall like waves

Row after row, still more and more! Now brothers,

Now it's our turn: quick, down upon your knees!

People on their knees, cries and weeping.

Ah, mercy, little father! Be our ruler!

Be our father, our Tsar!

First Cit. (aside),

What do they weep for!

Second C. How should we know? That is the Nobles' business,

Not ours.

Old Wom. Why, what! Just when we've got to cry
 You must be mum! I'll do for thee! The bogy!
 Cry, you spoilt rogue (*child cries*). Now then!

One. They're all crying.

Boys, let us cry a bit!

Second. I'm trying, brother;

No good.

First. I too. Has anyone an onion?

Let's rub our eyes red.

Second. No, I'll spit and smear them.

What is up now there?

First. Cannot make it out!

People. The crown for him! He's Tsar! He has accepted!

Boris our Tsar! Boris! Long live Boris!

The five years that followed Boris's coronation saw no outward disturbance of his power, and offered little material for that part of drama which consists in action and event. But the quiescence was only on the surface. The ominous symptoms which Boris's triumph could not conceal became steadily more formidable and continuous, and his resolute efforts to play the part of the benevolent autocrat only increased the tension between ruler and people. By the close of the fifth year (1603) the imposing edifice of his power is shaken to its foundations, and a slight interference from outside will suffice to overthrow it. Hence the swift and easy triumph of the Pretender. But Boris, like Macbeth, is a tragic figure long before his fall. The bitterness of disillusion is upon him already: he can say with Lady Macbeth: 'all's had, all's spent when our desires are had without content.' Sovereignty has lost its relish when once enjoyed, and added to that satiety, he is haunted by the horror of his crime. In an impressive soliloquy he lays bare the situation:

'I have reached the height of power,
 Already for five years I have reigned in peace,
 But yet I am not happy.'

He had tried to win the people by generosity; but all in vain, 'they love only the dead.' If their houses burnt down, he built them new ones, and they accused him of the fire. Whoever died he was the cause of their death. Who can get the better of malignant calumny? A man with a good conscience, perhaps:

‘But if there be a single flaw in it
 The soul’s enflamed as with a festering wound,
 The heart o’erbrims with poison ; accusations
 Knock as with beating hammers in our ears,
 All things are loath to us, our head goes round
 And boys blood-dabbled hover before our eyes.’

To this inner tragedy the outer is about to be added. The next scene opens in the convent cell, where the young monk Grigor Otrépyov, is sitting with the venerable chronicler Pimen. Grigor’s imagination has been fired by the records of successful usurpation, and his hot blood is eager to live them instead of copying them. The aged chronicler Pimen himself had known that brilliant life of adventure in his prime, and had only withdrawn to the quiet of the convent cell as an old man to describe it. Grigóry finds himself a monk in the years when he ought to be a soldier and a lover, and he resolves to be ruled by his years and not by his vows. And the old chronicler unwittingly gives him the cue, by describing graphically the murder of the Tsarewitch, which he had himself witnessed, and how the murderer had confessed that Boris had ordered it. ‘He would be just your age now, and would have reigned, but God willed otherwise. There ends my chronicle,’ the old man closes, ‘and now I am weary ; and I hand over my old pen to you, Grigóry ; do you continue my work.’ But Grigóry has other ideas :

Boris ! Boris ! Before thee Russia trembles,
 None in thy presence dares so much as mention
 The fate of the unhappy Tsarewitch ;—¹
 But here meantime a hermit in a cloister
 Is making of thee terrible report,
 And thou wilt not escape from the world’s judgment,
 As thou wilt not escape the wrath of God.

So Grigóry escapes from the convent and hurries to the Lithuanian border, where we next see him in a picturesque and exciting tavern scene, on the frontier, in grave peril of his life from the guards whom Boris has posted there to stop precisely the runaway monk. There is nothing at all resembling it in Shakespeare,—it is more like a scene from Scott,—but we may think of the way in which the action of Henry IV takes its ease in the Eastcheap tavern, and sports with its

¹ This title, in Russian accented *Tsarévich*, is in the translation treated as an English word and accented as is usual in English.

revellers and its voluble hostess, in the intervals of the high matters of state policy and civil war.

A Tavern on the Lithuanian Frontier.

MISAIL and VARLAAM, monks; Grigóry Otrépjev, secular. *The Hostess of the Inn.*

H. What can I serve you, honoured fathers?

M. What God provides, Hostess. Hast thou wine?

H. Surely, my fathers! I'll bring it anon. (*Exit.*)

M. (to G.) Why so downcast, comrade? Here's the Lithuanian frontier thou wast so anxious to reach.

G. Till I am across it I shall not be at ease.

V. What is Lithuania to thee? Look at Misail and me a sinful man, when once we had slipped out of the monastery, we cared nothing whether it was Lithuania or Russia, fiddle or dulcimer, it was all one to us if only we had some wine,—and here it comes! . . .

M. Well said, brother Varlaam.

Host. Here it is, my fathers.

M. Thanks. God bless thee! (*Sings.*)

You dont join? (*to Grég.*)

G. Not inclined. . . .

M. Everyone to his liking.

V. But, Paradise to the drinker, father Misail! Drink a cup to our hostess. And, faith, when I drink I dont like sober men. Tipsiness is one thing, stiffness another; if thou wilt live like us, good,—if not, take thyself off. Get away, a vagabond is no companion for a priest. . . .

M. Let him be, father Varlaam.

[*Grig. inquires of the Hostess as to the road to Lithuania, and the distance.*]

H. Not far, by night you may be there, but for the barriers and imperial guard.

Gr. What, barriers! what does that mean?

H. Someone has escaped from Moscow, and there are orders to hold up everyone, and examine them.

Gr. (*to himself*) There's for you, my son.

V. Ha, companion! Hobnobbing with the hostess. Thou dost not want vodka, but thou likest a young woman.

M. Well said, father Varlaam.

Gr. (to hostess) And what do the guards want? Who has escaped from Moscow?

H. Lord knows, if its a thief or a highwayman they want; tis only certain they stop honest folks from going forward. And what will they get? Nothing at all, not so much as a spotted dog; as if there were'nt another way over the frontier, besides the high road! Why, from here you take the turn to the left, then go by a path to a chapel on the Chekan brook, and then straight across the marshes to Hlopino, and

from there to Zaharyév, and then any child will guide you to the hills. As to these guards, we only know that they bother passers-by, and rob us poor folks.

(A noise is heard.)

What's that? Ah, 'tis them, cursed fellows, going their rounds.

Gr. Hostess, isn't there another bit of a corner in the cottage?

H. Nay, friend, I'd be glad to hide myself. . . .

(Guards enter.)

Gd. Good-day, hostess!

H. I beg you to be heartily welcome, honoured guests.

1st Gd. (to the other) Here is a bit of drinking going on; a find for us.

(To the monks) Who are you?

V. We are old and holy men, peaceful fathers, on our way to the villages to collect Christian alms for the monastery.

1st Gd. (to Gr.) And thou?

M. Our companion.

Gr. A lay brother of the suburbs; I have accompanied these fathers to the frontier; now I am on my way home.

M. So you have changed your mind. . . .

Gr. (aside) Whisht.

1st G. Hostess, bring more wine, and we'll drink with these fathers, and have a bit of talk with them.

2nd G. (aside) The young fellow seems bare; nought to be got from him; but the old fellows——

1st G. Hold thy peace, we'll settle with them directly.—

Well, my fathers, and how goes business?

V. Ill, my son, ill! Present-day Christians are niggards. They love money, they hide it. They give little to God. . . . They are all out to make money and cheat, they think of worldly wealth, not of saving their souls. You visit and visit, you pray and pray; sometimes you don't pray a farthing out of them in three days. What a sin! A week, two weeks, go by, you look in your bag, and there's so little, you're ashamed to show it at the monastery: what's to be done? you are so sad, you drink the rest, and a poor comfort too. Ah, bad it is! it seems our last days are come.—

H. (weeping) The Lord keep us and save us!

(While V. is speaking, 1st G. examines M. attentively.)

1st G. (to G. 2), Hast thou the Tsar's edict on thee?

2nd G. Ay.

1st G. Give it here.

M. Why dost eye me so fixedly?

1st G. Look here, a vile heretic has escaped from Moscow, Grigor Otrépyov. Hast heard that?

M. Nay.

1st G. Thou hast not heard. Good. And the Tsar has ordered this runaway heretic to be taken and hanged. Dost thou know that?

M. Nay.

1st G. (to V.) Can'st thou read?

V. I learnt it as a boy, but have forgotten it.

1st G. (to M.) And thou?

M. The Lord has not taught me.

1st G. Look at this imperial edict.

M. What is it to me?

1st G. I guess this runaway heretic, thief and rogue is—thee!

M. I? My good sir, what do you mean?

1st G. Stand! Hold the doors, we'll soon find the truth.

H. O these cursed torturers! And they wont leave this old man alone!

1st G. Who is here that can read?

Gr. (coming forward) I can read. . . .

1st G. (giving him the edict) Read it aloud.

Gr. (reads) Grigory, an unworthy secular of the Chudov monastery, of the family of Otrépyov, fell into heresy, and dared, at the devil's bidding, to annoy the holy brothers by all manner of illegal devices. And inquiry being made, he escaped, this accursed Grigory, to the Lithuanian border—

1st G. (to M.) Who's that but you?

Grig. And the Tsar orders him to be taken?

1st G. And hanged!

Grig. It doesn't say hanged.

1st G. A lie! They don't put it all in writing. Read: 'taken and hanged'.

Grig. And hanged. And the age of the thief Grigory (looking at V.) is fifty; medium stature, forehead bald, beard grey, belly stout.

(All look at V.)

1st G. Boys! Here is Grishka! Seize him, hold him! I never thought it or guessed it!

V. (snatching the paper.) Stay, rogues! What sort of Grishka am I? Look, fifty years old, beard grey, and belly stout! No brother! The young man has played a trick on me. I have not read for years, and can't make it out well, but I shall make it out as hanging's in question (spells it out) 'And his age is 20.' How, brother, where is your '50'? Do you see that '20'?

2nd G. Ay, I mind, it was 20; they told us so.

1st G. (to Grig.) So, brother, you seem to be a joker, (during the reading, Gr. stands with his head hanging and his hand in his bosom).

V. (continuing). Of low stature, chest broad, one hand shorter than the other, eyes blue, hair reddish, a wart on his cheek and another on his forehead. Isn't that you, friend?

Grig. draws his dagger suddenly, they all scatter before him, he rushes to the window.

1st and 2nd G. Hold him! hold him!

(All pursue him in disorder.)

In the very next scene we learn in a very dramatic way what has ensued. Place and time are handled with more than Shakesperean boldness. It would have formed in Shakespeare the beginning of a new

Act. We are back in Moscow, and some weeks at least have elapsed. For Grigory has already reached Poland, has declared himself to be the Tsarewitch, and has been accepted with Polish enthusiasm by Polish society and the Polish king; while the first intimation of these sensational events has just reached his friends in Moscow.

The scenes in Moscow which follow are the crucial scenes of the tragedy. The position and tension of the opposed forces is not unlike that in the Fourth act of *Richard III*, where Richard broaches the murder of the princes to Buckingham, receives an evasive reply, and presently learns of the approach of Richmond. But as imagined by the young Shakespeare the game of politics is still comparatively elementary; diplomatic duplicity is not long maintained, disguises are impatiently thrown off and suspicions declared. Richard having confided his plan to Buckingham and meeting with only a hesitating response, has no further use for him, and roughly repels him. Buckingham knows that he is lost, and flies. In Pushkin, the descendant of generations of nobles versed in the astute diplomacy for which Russia has always been famous, the strategic game is on a far more advanced stage of duplicity.

The first scene is in the palace of Shuisky. It is the close of a brilliant evening party; the guests are just taking leave. One of them, Pushkin (the ancestor of the poet) lingers behind, a hint that he has important news, and then, in the utmost secrecy, after dismissing the servants and closing doors and windows, reveals that the Tsarevitch is alive in Poland. Shuisky is incredulous, but sees how powerful an engine even a false claimant will be for overthrowing Boris. The thing is to be kept absolutely secret. But already Boris's friends are aware of this suspicious meeting, and proceed to disclose it to him. These high matters of state are not introduced at once; Boris as yet knows nothing, we see him with his children, unsuspecting of peril, like Lady Macduff with her boys. The girl, Kseniya, had been betrothed to the murdered Dmitri and is still mourning for him. Her father ironically consoles her.

Why, Kseniya! Why, my beloved girl!
Already a widow and still a plighted maid!
Still grieving for your bridegroom's sad decease?
My dearest child, / clearly was not fated
To be the founder of your wedded bliss.
I very likely have offended heaven
Too far to be the builder of your fortune.
Innocent creature! why should *you* be hurt?

Then he turns to his boy Feódor, the Tsarevitch, who is busy making a map of his father's empire. The boy explains it :

A map of Muscovy ! our entire dominion
From end to end. Here you see Moscow, here is
Novgorod, Astrachan, and the Black Sea,
Here the impassable forests of Perm, and here
Siberia. . . .

Ts. Capital ! There's the fruit of education !
You see as in a bird's eye glance the whole
Tsardom at once, frontiers and towns and rivers.
Study, my son, knowledge abridges for us
The experience of our swiftly flowing life.
Some time or other, and it may be soon,
All the dominions you have just been plotting
So cleverly on paper, will be yours ;—
Study, my son, and you will understand
More clearly and easily what it is to rule.

[His brother *Semjón Godunóv* enters.]

But here comes Godunóv with a report.

[*He dismisses his daughter and her governess : Feodor remains.*]

What have you got to say, *Semjón Nikitich* ?

Sem. To-day at dawn the Chamberlain—his servant
And Pushkin's came to me with information.

Ts. Well ?

Sem. Pushkin's servant stated, first of all,
That yester-morning at their house arrived
A courier from Cracow, and an hour
Later without dispatches was dismissed.

Ts. Arrest the courier.

Sem. Men are in pursuit.

Ts. And of Shuiski ?

Sem. He was entertaining
His friends to supper,—both the Miloslawskis,
The Buturlins, Michaël Saltykov,
And Pushkin, and some others. It was late
When they broke up. Pushkin alone remained.
And with his host in closest secrecy
Held further long discussion.

Ts. Instantly

Summon Shuisky.

Sem. Sire ! He is here already,

Ts. Call him to me.

(*Sem. exit.*)

Dealings with Lithuania ? What is this ?
The rebel race of Pushkin are my enemies,
And Shuiski does not deserve my trust,
Pliant, but bold and cunning—

(Enter *Shuiski*.)

Prince, I want

A word with you. Apparently, however,
You come yourself on business; pray speak first.

Shu. That is so, sire; in duty bound I bring you
Important information.

Ts. I attend.

Sh. (*pointing to Feodor*) But, sire?

Ts. Whatever prince *Shuiski* knows

The Tsarevitch may know. Speak freely.

Sh. Tsar,

From Lithuania we have news—

Ts. The same

Is it not, that a courier brought last night
To Pushkin?

Sh. (*aside*) He knows all.—I had not thought,
Sire, that these secrets could have reached you yet.

Ts. No matter, prince. I wish to check and sift
This information; otherwise I shall not
Learn the whole truth.

Sh. All that I know is this,

That a Pretender has appeared in Cracow,
And that the King and nobles are behind him.

Ts. (*agitated*) What are they claiming? Who is this Pretender?

Sh. I know not.

Ts. But . . . Why is he dangerous?

Sh. Beyond doubt, Sire, your empire is secure.

By kindness, care, and liberality

You have won the hearts of all your subjects. But

You know yourself how thoughtless is the mob,

How treacherous, unstable, superstitious,

Lightly seduced by every idle hope,

Beguiled by every momentary lure,

Deaf and indifferent to truth, and fed

On fables. It delights in shameless daring.

If therefore this unknown adventurer

Once cross the Latvian frontier, he will draw

The senseless people to him by the magic

Of his mere name—the resurrected name

Of Dmitri—

Ts. Dmitri! What? That boy?

Dmitri! (*to Feodor*) Leave us, Tsarevitch.

Sh. (*aside*) He colours:

There'll be a storm now.

Feod. Sire, will you allow me,—

Ts. Impossible, my son, withdraw.

(*Feod. exit.*)

Dmitri!

Sh. (aside) So he knew nothing.

Ts. Listen, prince ; order measures instantly ;
Let Russia all along the Latvian march
Be lined with guards ; that not a single soul
Cross, not a hare run hither out of Poland,
And not a crow fly here from Cracow. Hence !

Sh. I go.

Ts. Stay. Is it not a fact, this news
Is fabricated ? Did you ever hear
Of dead men rising from their mortal graves
To question monarchs, monarchs lawfully
Named and elected by the people's voice,
Crowned by the most high Patriarch ? Laughable
Is't not ? Why don't you laugh then ?

Sh. I, my lord ?

Tsar. Listen, prince Shuisky. When I received
The news that this boy—of this boy's demise,
I sent you to investigate ; I now
Conjure you in the name of Christ and God,
Upon your conscience tell me the very truth :
Did you identify the murdered youth,
Or was it a bogus body ? Answer me,

Sh. I swear to you—

Tsar. No, Shuisky, do not swear.
But answer : was it the Tsarevitch ?

Sh. 'Twas he.

Tsar. Consider, prince. I promise to be kind.
Bygone betrayals with vain banishment
I will not punish. But if now you should
Play double with me, by my own son's head
I swear, a dire death-doom shall overtake you,
Such a death-doom, the Tsar Iván himself
Will quake with terror in the grave at it.

Sh. Not doom I dread but your unkindness, Tsar.
Should I with you dare play the hypocrite ?
And could I be so blindly taken in
As not to know Dimitri ? For three days
I visited the body in the church,
Escorted by the fathers one and all.
Round him lay thirteen corpses of men torn
To pieces by the people, where decay
Already had perceptibly set in.
But the child Tsarevitch's body still
Was fresh and ruddy and calm, as if in sleep.
In his deep wound the blood was not yet clotted,
His features still were utterly unchanged.
Nay, Sire, there is no doubt at all, Dimitri
Sleeps in his grave.

Tsar.

Enough, withdraw.

(exit Shuisky.)

Air! Air!

I stifle—let me breathe! I felt
 All my blood rush into my face, and sink
 Heavily back. . . . This, this is why I have dreamt
 Thirteen years nightly of the murdered boy,
 Yes, yes,—so comes it—now I understand.
 But what then is he, this my threatening foe?
 What's he to me? An empty name, a shadow—
 And can a shadow snatch the purple from me,
 Or a voice seize my children's heritage?
 Fool that I am! Of what am I afraid?
 Breathe on this phantom—and it vanishes.
 So, I'm resolved: never a sign of fear—
 O heavy art thou, crown of Muscovy!¹

And then the scene shifts to the Pretender's new court at Cracow. The Poles who surround him, ardent and facile, volcanic and volatile, are drawn with caustic irony by the Russian, a master of reticence. The false Dmitri plays his part like a born diplomat and a finished courtier; winning the priests by a promise to bring the Eastern Church under the papacy, the king by the prospect of an advantageous league with Muscovy, and the brilliant ambitious beauty, Marina, by the promise of the Tsaritsa's throne.

We seem here to be on the verge of a love-episode such as Pushkin, like Alfieri, thought out of keeping with tragedy, and which is foreign also to the temper of Shakespeare's Histories. In nothing is Schiller's *Wallenstein* less like Shakespeare than in the love story of Max and Thekla.² We see Marina and her maid Rosa dressing for the ball, and they hold a very un-Shakesperean discussion, whether she shall wear the ruby brooch or the diamond bracelet. The historical Marina was a soulless coquette who gave herself to any man who offered her the hope of power.³ We may measure the force of Shakespeare's example when we find Pushkin's Marina reminding us of the Portia of Brutus. But this is only a single moment in a scene of great power and beauty, a game of strategy between two persons both young, both

¹ In the original 'Monomach,' an imperial title.

² Pushkin borrowed a trait from Richard's wooing—his offering her his sword—for a genuine form of love, Juan's courtship of Lady Anna (whose husband like Richard, he has murdered), in the *Stone Guest*.

³ Pushkin to Rayevsky, 1829; see App. [2].

perfectly unscrupulous, one baiting love with power, the other power with love. Marina has met the Pretender by appointment in a garden, by night, beside a fountain ; but not for love. He is beginning to explain how impatiently he had waited all day for this rapturous meeting, but she cuts him short—

The hours are flying, and my time is precious—
 I did not come to hear a lover's speeches.
 Words are unnecessary. I believe
 You love me ; but attend : I am resolved
 To join my fate, for better or for worse,
 With yours ; but one thing, Dmitri, I have a right
 To ask : that you discover to me all
 The secret hopes and purposes of your heart,
 So that I may with confidence enter on
 Life by your side ;—not blindly, like a child,
 Nor like your harlot, a she-slave obeying
 Speechless the trivial orders of her lord,
 But as your true and honourable wife,
 The consort of the Tsar of Muscovy !

In vain the Pretender begs her, for one hour only, to forget politics and think of him as the lover. He even declares that Muscovy and its throne are nothing to him beside her love. She indignantly stops him, with the plain assurance that she is giving her hand not to the young lover infatuated with her beauty, but to the heir of Russia, miraculously preserved by fate. He audaciously puts the case, suppose he were not Dmitri after all ? Could she love him ? And then he tells her the truth, that Dmitri the Tsarewitch is dead, and he himself just a poor runaway monk. She is overcome for a moment ; but then proceeds to reproach him for giving up to her his well-kept secret. She will not betray him ; his sham rank is as powerful as ever so long as it is believed in, and above all, it can strike down Boris, and seat him on the Russian throne, and her beside him. Let him, true or false, destroy Boris, and she will have him, but on no other condition. And she leaves him.

'No,' he reflects ;—
 'Tis easier to get even with Godunov
 Or with a cunning Jesuit of the court,
 Than with a woman. . . .
 A snake ! a snake ! 'twas not for nought I trembled ;
 Another moment, and I was undone.
 But now the die is cast : I march to-morrow.

So he crosses the frontier with all his forces ; the people flock to his banner, as they flock to join Bolingbroke in *Richard II* ; reports of his success come into Moscow, and Boris hastily summons his council.

Camp scenes, follow, with rough soldier-types ;—a Russian prisoner plain-spoken to his captors, as the Boy at Agincourt to his prisoners (each poet giving his own countryman the best of the encounter), and an eccentric captain, like Fluellen, venting scraps of foreign tongues. Then we return to Moscow. In a prose scene we hear the people, now frank and bold ; and an ‘Idiot,’ like one of Shakespeare’s Fools, hustled by the crowd, voices the deadly truth to Boris : ‘The lads are killing me. Order them to be killed, as you killed the little Tsarevitch.’ This ‘Fool’ is not, like Shakespeare’s, a wit kept for the amusement and profit of courts, but a poor outcast, one of the class of wandering ‘Idiots,’ religious ascetics who wore iron caps and chains, and whose reputed ‘idiotcy’ gave them a privilege of free speech no less serviceable for the dramatist than the chartered licence of the English court-Fools. Yet no one, but for Shakespeare’s Fools, would have thought of putting a Russian ‘idiot’ on the tragic stage.

And now the Pretender’s forces are closing in, aided by the nobles and by the people. Boris in his palace is attacked and brought in dying. He summons his son, Feódor, and addresses to him, as Henry to Hal, a last speech of counsel. ‘I am Tsar still,’ he cries, like Antony at bay after Actium. The Nobles declare for the Pretender, and secure their heads by the fervour of their appeal to the people to make an end of Boris and his family. In the final scene his young son and daughter are seen under guard ; a beggar asks alms of the boy. ‘Go,’ replies Feódor, ‘you are happier than I, you are free !’ In a little while they are dead, not without pitying protests from among the people, and the curtain falls on a loud summons to cry ‘long live Dmitri Ivanovitch.’ The people receive it in silence, a significant sign that if the tragedy of Boris is ended, another drama, of no less sinister auspice, is about to begin.

The close is stern—almost the last we hear is the cry of Boris’s slaughtered children. While the doom of Boris himself, if a righteous Nemesis, is inflicted upon him by another usurper, whose claim to the Tsardom is as hollow as his own, and who has won it by the help of men as double-faced as himself.

Yet intercourse with Shakespeare seems to have communicated to this young Russian poet something of the indefinable faith in goodness, and in the final prevalence of good, which emanates somehow from the most harrowing of Shakespeare's tragedies, as it does not always from the grimmer darkness of Ibsen's, and as it does not from this. In the overwhelming pathos of the death of Desdemona and of Cordelia, we yet must think the world not without hope in which beings of such heavenly beauty can be born. Nor does Shakespeare even show us man in the grip of a heritage ruthless and irresistible as fate, as Ibsen does in *Ghosts*. Pushkin was still unripe, and his tragedy ends without any complete expression either of nobility of character or of the ethical background of tragedy. Yet there are, as I said, signs that he felt Shakespeare's indefinable faith in goodness.

The so-called 'December' conspiracy in which Pushkin escaped being implicated only, as he bravely told Nicholas, because he was not then in St. Petersburg, was discovered, and its leaders, some of the most eminent men in Russia, arrested. Their fate was still hanging in the balance when Pushkin wrote to a friend (in Jan. 1826): 'I await impatiently the verdict upon these unhappy men. . . . I have definite trust in the generosity of the young Tsar. We will not be superstitious nor yet one-sided, like the French tragic poets, but watch the tragedy with the eyes of Shakespeare.'¹ Unhappily, trust in the generosity of the Emperor Nicholas was then and always in the highest degree misplaced; and almost a century was to elapse before the old regime, in the person of another Nicholas, was finally dismissed by the Russian people.

* * * * *

"We will not be superstitious, nor yet one-sided, but watch the tragedy with the eyes of Shakespeare." I do not think I can find a fitter text than this fine utterance of our Russian Shakesperean's generous hope and faith, for the few sentences in which I wish to speak of him whom we commemorate to-day.

After his appointment here I only twice or thrice met Arthur Skemp, once on the occasion when he received an honorary degree from his old University. But I followed his career at a distance, and I knew how great an impression his teaching and his magnetic

¹ Letter to Baron Delwig.

personality had made upon academic and popular audiences alike. He sent me also much of his verse ; in particular, his Arthurian drama, vibrating with passion and poetry. And then came the sudden heroic and tragic end, which stirred grief and sympathy in circles far wider than had ever known him ; while those who did know and love him, best knew how far his great powers were from being completely unfolded, and how much of what he had to say was still unsaid. And yet Arthur Skemp had time to show what he was, and to leave, in the community where he lived and laboured, as in the home where he loved and was loved, an ineffaceable memory behind. The memory of one who, in his life and in his death, brought vividly back to us, as few men do, the ideal of chivalry ;—the chivalry evolved by generations of knighthood in feudal service for the crown, or the cross, or a lady's grace, but in this modern knight divested of all that is merely archaic or mediæval, and re-clad in the radiant garb of those who fight not for a class only but for humanity ;—the chivalry of Hamlet, who was scholar, soldier, and courtier at once, equally equipped with eye, tongue, and sword ;—a Hamlet whose mind was a belfry of sweet sounds, not jangled, but full of heartening solace for all who heard. Or, if I may be allowed to resort once more to our literature in describing a great teacher of it, I would say that it was the chivalry of one in whom the temper of Chaucer's knight,—with his passion for 'truth and honour, freedom and courtesye,' and his port 'as meek as is a maid,' was enriched with the intellectual passion of his 'Clerk,' who would 'gladly lerne and gladly teche' ; and also, for surely the spirit of eternal youth was in him, the young ardour of that Squier, singer and poet and lover, who left his story half untold. If Skemp, both as man and poet, had but half told his story, Milton, we know, in his meditative hour, preferred the Squier's unfinished story before all the rest. Will it not cheer the meditation and quicken the idealism of many, who without Milton's genius do battle no less strenuously than he for the things of the spirit, to remember the half-told story of Arthur Skemp ?

APPENDIX.

PUSHKIN'S LETTER TO RAYEVSKY.

The salient points of this important letter, so far as bearing on the technique and intentions of *Boris Godunov*, are extracted below. The numbers are referred to in the text.

Peterb. 30 Jan. '29.

[1] Following Shakespeare's example, I have limited myself to the representation of an age and of the historical persons, not pursuing theatrical or romantic effects. The style is mixed. It is low and gross where I had to introduce gross and vulgar persons.

[2] I dreamed with satisfaction of a tragedy without love; but besides that love was an essential element in the romantic and passionate characters of my adventurer, I make Dmitri fall in love with Marina, the better to express her own passionate character. In Karamzin she is only sketched. She was simply the most passionate of all good-looking women. But she had only one passion, the passion for power, and that to a degree of violence hard to imagine. . . .

She appears only in a single scene, but I shall return to her if God gives me life.

[3] *Gavril Pushkin* is one of my ancestors; I have represented him as I found him in history and in my family papers. He possessed many talents, being at once an accomplished soldier, a courtier, and above all a master of plotting. He and Pleshcheev secured the success of the Pretender by their unheard-of audacity.

I find him later among the defenders of Moscow in 1612, then in 1616 in the Duma, . . . then Vervode in Nizhni, then among the deputies who crowned Romanov. He was everything, even an incendiary, as a paper shows which I found in the 'Burnt-out City.' . . .

[4] *Shuisky*. I also propose to return to Shuisky. He represents in history a strange mixture of boldness, cunning, and strong character. A servant of Godunov, he alone among the chief courtiers passed over to the side of Dmitri, he is the first to conspire, and observe, he is the first to profit by the mêlée, calling out and accusing, and turning from a commander to a ruffian. He came near to execution, but Dmitri pardons him on the scaffold, banishes him, and with that light-hearted magnanimity which distinguished this amiable adventurer, again recalls him to his court, and loads him with honours and gifts. And what does Shuisky do, the man who had been on the point of falling on the block and under the axe? He makes haste to conspire again, succeeds, comes into favour, falls,—and in his fall shows more character and spiritual force than in all the rest of his life.

[5] *Dmitry*. Dmitri strongly recalls Henry IV [of France]. He is valiant, magnanimous, and boastful, like him; indifferent to religion; both for political reasons change their faith; both love amusements and war; both are inclined to chimerical enterprises, and both seek their end by conspiracy.

But Henry had not Ksenia on his conscience—it is true that this dreadful charge has not yet been proved, and I hold it my sacred duty not to believe it.

[6] *On Tragedy*. While composing my *Godunov* I reflected on tragedy, and if I thought of writing a preface there would be a sensation,—this perhaps the least investigated kind of literature. They try to deduce its laws from probability, but that is excluded by the nature of drama; not to speak of time and place, etc., what probability in the devil's name can there be in a hall divided into two halves, one of which contains 2000 people, who suppose themselves unseen by the persons on the stage. . . . The tragic poets of real genius never troubled themselves about any other probability than that of characters and situation. See how bravely Corneille managed in the *Cid*: ah, you want the law of 24 hours! Your pardon! Instead he tosses his events about over 4 months. But nothing is more ridiculous than petty corrections in received laws. Alfieri feels deeply the ridiculous significance of the *aside*; he suppresses it, but in its place exalts the *monologue*. What childishness!

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE EPIC.¹

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THE title of this lecture may, I fear, suggest a rather ponderous treatment of a ponderous subject. As I began to put it together and to read what others had said on such topics, I confess that I was reminded, by contrast, of a remark made once by an American friend of mine who had been studying the commentary of an Anglican divine on the Minor Prophets. "I do not know when I learnt such a heap of things," he said, shaking his head sadly, "such a heap of things that were not so." My trouble was the opposite ;— I seemed to be smothered by a heap of things that always were so and always had been so and always would be ; and the definite matters which I wanted to discuss seemed likely to be drowned in a flood of respectable doctrines which demanded a passing homage. The only way to escape is to be fiercely dogmatic in general principles so as to leave room to apply them to certain aspects of the structure of Vergil's *Æneid*, about which there are, I venture to think, some questions on which light may still be sought and found.

After all, although the material of architecture is ponderous enough, its greatest triumphs are surely distinguished by the impression which they give of lightness, allied with organic strength and vigour, when a whole building seems to be not dead stone but a living growth, almost moveable and flexible, playing with the sunlight, not blotting it out, communing with the breezes of heaven as with friends, not enemies.

One such building I have in mind is the new Marischal College of Aberdeen, built, I suppose, of the heaviest and hardest stone in the

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on January 14, 1925. As usual I am profoundly indebted, especially in the verse renderings, to the generous help of my friend Prof. W. B. Anderson, Litt.D.

world ; yet so exquisitely planned that on a sunny day it has all the delicate charm of filigree silver. And but for the sooty conditions under which the ignorance or greed of many individuals in Manchester condemn us all here to draw our breath, something like this would be felt every day of the lovely building in which we are privileged to meet.

Few Epics have stood the test of time ; and there are not more than five of which I can claim any knowledge ; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of course, the *Æneid*, the *Divina Commedia* of Dante and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Of course there are others ; but none (in Europe, at all events) which are not in close relation with the Vergilian and Homeric models. In saying this I am venturing to assume the truth of the only description of an epic which seems to me to meet the facts ; it is given in that brilliant book—'English Lessons for English People,' the joint work of the historian J. R. Seeley and the great scholar and teacher Dr. Edwin Abbott. They laid down that an epic poem is a chapter in the history of Providence ; that is to say, it must be long enough and deep enough to show the working out of some providential purpose in a given period of human history. Thus in the *Iliad* beneath and behind the whole story, is the prospect of the triumph of the Greeks over barbarians and the doom of the guilty city of Troy ; and the episodes of the fighting, though they extend, I believe, over something less than a month, lead up to two events—the reunion of the Greek forces, and the death of Hector, without which the destruction of Troy could not have been compassed. On the other hand in the *Odyssey* the story spreads over several years ; and although the result is not larger than the restoration of the good Odysseus to his wife and kingdom, nevertheless the poem is so built that the reader has to believe that the greatest powers of the universe have it at heart to accomplish this end and incidentally to punish the lawlessness of the Suitors. To any readers who may not feel this underlying divine purpose, well, to them the *Odyssey* is not to be distinguished from other narratives in verse ; in other words it is for them not an Epic, in the sense in which the name will be used in this lecture.

Put in a less theological shape, the definition means that an Epic must be felt as a single poem whose narrative is continuous, and leads straight to some large result ; and that this result must be fraught with interest of at least national magnitude, possibly more than national, but at least national. The sorrows and the courage of Enoch Arden or

the anxieties of Bishop Blougram may interest us keenly, but their experiences are not of Epic magnitude.

Starting thus we discover quickly that there are two or three practical consequences (there may be more) in the structure of an epic which have been in fact observed by all epic poets who can claim that title without question. Dull and obvious enough you may think them ; but they have contributed a good deal to the shaping of the *Æneid*:

(1) *Never end at the end*.—History never stops, and if any set of events has a real historical importance, that importance will not be limited by any one point of time—certainly not by the point at which its character first becomes fully determined. We have seen that the story of the *Iliad* is epic because it looks forward to the triumph of the Greeks and back to the guilt of Troy. Again, to suppose that the purport of Dante's vision was ended when he resumed his life as a mortal man in Italy after the marvellous time that he spent in the three stages of his journey ; that is to say, to regard the whole *Commedia* as merely a nine-days-incident of Dante's private life, although from one point of view that is what he represented it to be, would, of course, be absurd. We may well be shy of devising a formula for the scope of his gigantic undertaking ; but it certainly was something which pictured the contribution of Italy, past, present and future, to the intellectual and spiritual growth of Europe ; and that, happily, as we know and as Dante knew, was not to end with Easter week in 1300.

On the other hand a poem *must* end somewhere, that is to say, there should be some concrete incident at the end of which the reader feels that he has come to the frame of the picture. Of this need our own John Milton was vividly conscious. The substantial end of *Paradise Lost* is Michael's great prophecy of the final victory of the Saviour who should one day—

“ dissolve
Satan with this perverted world, then raise
New Heav'ns, new earth, ages of endless date
Founded in righteousness, and peace, and love,
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss.”

This is l. 551 ; but what happens in the 88 lines which remain of the Book ? Adam and Eve are expelled by Michael and the cherubim from Paradise.

"The world was all before them, where to choose
 Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.
 They, hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,
 Through Eden took their solitary way."

Their expulsion from the Garden makes the end of the poem, but not the goal of its story.

(2) The second principle is not less obvious—*Never begin at the beginning*. The great pictures of past history, personal, and more than personal, national, and more than national, which make up so much of the *Divina Commedia* range over all the centuries; and the date with which Dante happens to connect the beginning of his vision, the eve of Good Friday, A.D. 1300, has only this importance—it helps us to separate his visions of the past¹ from his vision of the future. In *Paradise Lost* what are really the earliest events, namely the revolt of Satan and his angels and their expulsion from Heaven, are related by Raphael in Books V. and VI.; and the next step in Miltonic history, the creation of this world, is not begun until Book VII. nor completed till Book VIII., although we knew it had happened as early as Book I., when Satan solemnly submits the rumour of it to his infernal council. This council leads to Satan's adventurous journey to explore the new world for himself, which takes up the whole of Books II. and III.

The principle needs no further illustration; but it is interesting to note its origin, which was in a sense accidental. In the world to which the Homeric lays were first recited the professional bard who recited them held a place of honour. Therefore of course in the world of yesterday, only yesterday, of which the bard made a picture, there must be room for his own high calling; consequently, while the story deals with the deeds of yesterday there will be parts of it in which a bard is represented as telling stories of the day before. There are many traces in the *Iliad* of this instinct, to make particular lays serve a retrospective purpose; for example, the long narratives in which the warriors glorify their lineage before they engage in single

¹ Of course many of the incidents foretold in the *Commedia* had happened before the poem was written although the date which Dante had chosen, and chosen no doubt partly for this very purpose, made it necessary to depict them under the guise of prophecy, not of narrative. This *ex post facto* prophecy must be carefully distinguished from the poet's anticipation of what was to come in times really future to his own.

combat ; especially in the famous case of Glaucôn and Diomedes in Book VI., and in Nestor's lengthy history in Book XI. And as we all know, the delightful genius¹ which determined the present form of the *Odyssey*, set the account of his adventures which Odysseus gives to his host Alcinoüs in the four Books IX.-XII. These Books carry the narrative from the fall of Troy down to his arrival at the island of Calypso, his adventures after leaving Calypso having been related more briefly by him to his hosts in Book VII. The earlier books are mainly occupied with the state of Ithaca under the rule of the Suitors and the expedition of Telemachus in search of his father. We see therefore that this retrospective narrative was deliberately adopted by the framer of the *Odyssey*; and it has remained a conventional feature of the epic.

But why has such a convention maintained itself ? "One good custom" does not hold the world for centuries merely because it is old. What are its advantages ?

First, as we have seen,—that it gives to the poem a wider range than the actual limits of the story which it relates at first-hand. But freedom is gained in other ways too. The poet is not obliged to relate everything,—only the things which are of interest and importance to the narrator in whose mouth the story is put. Again the poet finds an opportunity of dramatic description merely by shaping the style in which the narrator delivers his story. It is generally his own story ; and to represent a man talking at length about his own experience creates for an imaginative poet a chance of depicting his character without seeming to do so. All these points may in fact be summed up by saying that the practice of retrospective narrative makes the poem more like the actual experience of its readers ; because, as we all know, we have to make the acquaintance of new people every day, and we judge them very largely from the things they first happen to say in our hearing ; but their previous history we only learn afterwards, if at all. In this point the epic method is closely akin to that of the drama.

(3) The third principle is this : *keep the goal always in mind, but not always on paper.* You must diversify the story, though you

¹ Whether the genius of one man or of a school of men, I must not stay to discuss, though like most English scholars I find it hard to do without the supposition of some one controlling intellect at this stage.

must not break it. The episodes must not be irrelevant ; that is what Apollonius Rhodius and the other Alexandrines failed to understand. So they could not write Epics : they wrote moderately entertaining narratives of which Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is the cleverest example.

Now the best interruption to any train of ideas is laughter. Unluckily not all interruptions produce laughter, but for laughter one's ideas or conduct must be interrupted ; no interruption, no laughter. You must be surprised ; *ridiculum secatur res* as Horace knew, cuts sharply, not merely slackens or softens, much less forwards or helps the immediate prospect ; though by breaking that to pieces, it may clear the air.

But where does this come into the epic ? It does not come in, and must not. This is what we mean by epic dignity. Hence we reach a fourth maxim : *smile, but never laugh aloud*. One passage in the *Iliad* and one in the *Odyssey* in which the architect of each has admitted some comparatively modern, *fin-de-siècle*-kind of material—or it may be comparatively barbarous and ancient, if Professor Murray's expurgatory theory be right—the cozening of Jove and the trapping of Mars by Vulcan, have been condemned as un-Epic by all critics, in ancient times as much as in our own day.

When we turn to enquire how these points of method affected the design of the *Æneid* we are on more definite ground. In studying the single Books of that poem it has always been my experience that nothing reveals to us so intimately Vergil's governing thought as the order in which he has arranged his subject matter. In a lecture here some years ago we traced the gradual expansion and ascent of the idea of Book VI. through the Approach, the Journey and the Revelation, culminating in the Vision of Anchises. In the Second Book who can forget the succession of the three great acts of the tragedy ? The first is in the sunlight and freedom of the fields outside the city of Troy, enjoyed by the Trojans for the first time for ten years ; the army with the king himself, and indeed the whole people, swarming over the shore and exulting in their apparent deliverance from their Greek invaders, of whom the only trace left is the gaunt wooden horse alone on the wide plain. In the midst of this immense rejoicing strange things happen,—the capture of Sinon followed by his crafty story, and then the protest of Laocoon and his subsequent destruction by the

serpents, ending in the triumphant return of the multitude to Troy with the wooden horse in their midst. The second act gives us the climax of the tragedy in a series of closely related scenes, in all of which Æneas takes part ; first his vision of Hector, then the shifting phases of the fighting in the streets, followed by his attempt from the roof of the Palace to repulse the assault of the Greeks on its walls, ended by the inrush of Pyrrhus and his slaughter of Priam. All this is at night, but night full of the glare of burning houses and the fury of conflict.

In the third act, a sense of desolation gradually succeeds to the strife. Æneas is left more and more alone, both in responsibility for action when with difficulty, and only by divine aid, he persuades his father to join in the escape ; and later when, having put his father and son in safe hiding outside the now merely smouldering city, he plunges back into danger to look for his wife Creusa who had been snatched from him in the escape. Out of all the rejoicing multitude which filled the stage in the first act, from the smaller but still crowded scenes of combat that made the second, Æneas alone is left. Troy has vanished ; the future is with Æneas alone, and to guide him there is only the faint ray of hope contained in Creusa's dubious¹ prophecy with a geographical contradiction which could offer small comfort. The story has swept us along swiftly ; one vivid picture has succeeded another too quickly for us to reflect on the constructive art which has so built the drama. To see how powerful this is, one need only try to remove a single episode from the Book. No episode, not even a single line, can be spared ; remove it, and the whole story halts.—So, for example, those scholars have found who wish to reject the passage in which Æneas debates whether he shall kill Helen. No doubt Vergil himself had condemned these lines ; but he did not live to rewrite the passage ; and without it, a place in the narrative is left completely blank.

Or again, we might study the structure of Book X., the Book of

¹ The prophecy of a western land (*terra Hesperia*) combined with an Anatolian river—that of course was the meaning of a *Lydius Thybris* to a Trojan ear. Commentators have been too much taken up with the meaning which the words would convey to a Roman to realise that to a Trojan, some generations before the first Etruscan landing in Italy, the prophecy had no geographical meaning except the riddling ambiguity proper to an oracle. I am glad to note that, since this lecture was delivered, the point has been made independently by a writer in the *Classical Review*.

Homeric combats. All its parts are knit closely, fiercely together, compact with magnificent power, every Act and every scene carrying us straight into the next, and the whole sweeping on to the tragical climax. But to this I must return some other day.

If then the poet's architectural power is so conspicuous in single Books, we may be sure that it will repay our study in the poem as a whole. At least we may discover some main lines of his plan. There is in our favour too one circumstance which at first sight might be thought a disadvantage, and which is, of course, a real loss to us however useful it may be for our present purpose; I mean the fact that the poem was left unfinished at Vergil's death, and that one of the latest changes he had made was in the order of the opening Books. One of these (the 3rd) had been, it now seems, in course of changes to suit the new order; and it was left so far from complete that it is only in its general design, in the beauty of its versification, and in a few passages of characteristic tenderness, such as the picture of Andromache, and that of Polyphemus with his sheep, that we can call it Vergilian in the full sense,¹ and it was perhaps his consciousness of this gap at a vital point of the story which more than anything else led the dying poet to bid his friends destroy the whole poem. But just for this reason, the order in which he did leave the Books is of great significance, because we know that it represents his mature intention. Some of the implications of this order I should like now to examine.

We all know that the *Æneid* contains in itself an Odyssey of travel and an *Iliad* of fighting; and it is commonly assumed that

¹ On the Third Book I am much indebted to a stimulating though not always convincing essay by Miss M. Crump on the *Growth of the Æneid* (Oxford, 1920). Her main contentions regarding the Book follow Sabbadini's view and seem to me justified, although the limits of the essay make the treatment of the other Books (especially that of the Twelfth) somewhat cursory. In particular Miss Crump nowhere reckons with the metrical and other evidence, though both are strong, for the view that some of these Books, especially the Tenth, belong to Vergil's earlier period and are closely akin in style and method to the *Georgics*, especially to the 3rd. My own view, which is, I believe, not new, is that the Tenth Book represents the final form of part of the poem about *reges et praelia* which we know that Vergil contemplated at an early stage (Ecl. VI., 3), say in 40-37 B.C., and then put aside; though he recurs to it again, in both retrospect and in prospect, in *Georg. III.*, 40-49.

the two halves of the poem correspond to this double purpose. This is true on the surface, but only on the surface; there is no travelling in Book II. or Book IV.—very little (in the geographical sense) in Book VI.; and there is no fighting in Book VIII. The chief likeness to the Homeric model is in one detail, namely, of time; the first six books cover seven or eight years and the last six occupy a certain number of days. This distinction therefore does not take us very far. The questions to which I will now beg attention arise out of the maxims that we have noted. How does Vergil secure that the real compass of his poem should not be limited by the experience of Æneas? How does he contrive to vary the course of his story without interrupting it? How does he secure that the reader shall be conscious throughout of its national and super-national purpose?

To the first question an answer arises if we ask another—What is the historical order of the events related in the *Æneid*? Clearly Troy comes first; that is to say Book II., then the wanderings from Troy as far as Sicily, Book III.¹ Then the new start from Sicily, the storm driving the wanderers out of their course; the shipwreck on the Carthaginian coast, the welcome by Dido; all this² makes Book I. The tragic love of Dido and Æneas, the forced departure of Æneas and Dido's suicide make Book IV. Then the return to Sicily and the incidents there fill the present Book V. These incidents are interesting and important for the development of the character of Æneas and for other reasons as we shall see, but the main narrative stands still until

¹ Here there is a gap. We nowhere learn how Æneas spent the time between his first landing in Sicily and his starting again on the voyage which ended in his shipwreck. Miss Crump offers a plausible conjecture, that the Funeral games of Anchises which, in the poem as we have it, take place a year after his death when Æneas returned to Sicily, were first designed to occupy this gap. There is something to be said for this view; but the total of the evidence does not yet seem enough to make it more than worth further enquiry. If Miss Crump's conjecture were sound, it would render still more noteworthy Vergil's final decision to place Book V. where it stands since it must have involved a great deal of re-writing, as indeed she supposes,—but far more re-writing than she has realised. And it would be interesting to see what, say, the first 500 lines of Book III. would be like, if they were re-written now so that every 1st person were replaced by a 3rd person—a process which Miss Crump strangely thinks 'very simple' (p. 35), 'not at all difficult' (p. 34).

² But the Carthaginian pictures of the Trojan War (454 ff.), look backwards; and the prophecy of Jupiter looks far on to Rome (254 ff.).

the end of the Book when the voyage is begun again—Palinurus is drowned, and the whole expedition arrives at Cumæ; then of course follows the descent to the Under-World in Book VI. But the events prophesied by Anchises in its latter part relate to periods that to Æneas are still in a remote future. Books VII., X., XI. and XII. narrate different stages of the relations of Æneas with the Italians and the repeated breach of their covenants with him—thanks to the fierce opposition of Amata and then of Turnus, the whole story being concluded by the death of Turnus.

The incidents in these four books are linked fairly closely, except the story of Camilla in the second half of the eleventh Book; ¹ part of this was certainly not composed for that place and the episode as a whole might have occurred anywhere between Book VII. and Book XII., though at the end of Book XI. (l. 901) the news of Camilla's death is neatly linked to what follows in Book XII.

But what of Books VIII. and IX.? Book VIII. narrates the visit of Æneas to the site of Rome where he is taken over parts of the future area of the city, by the Greek King Evander, who had settled on the Palatine, and who genially explains to him the stories connected with each part; the Book ends by Evander's dispatching his young son Pallas at the head of a contingent sent to help Æneas in his struggle with Turnus. Book IX. pictures the events in the Trojan camp during the absence of Æneas. It is hard pressed by Turnus, and we have first the romantic story of Nisus and Euryalus venturing out by night to try and recall Æneas, and so meeting their doom; then the not less interesting pictures of Turnus bursting into the Trojan camp, shut in there, and fighting his way through to the opposite wall, whence he plunges armed into the Tiber. Now the excursion of Æneas to the site of Rome might have come in anywhere between Book VI. and Book XII., and one episode of it—the divine armour made for Æneas by Vulcan, includes upon the shield a long series of pictures from Roman history, ending with the Battle of Actium. If, therefore, we were to arrange the story of these books by strict chrono-

¹ The Speech of Diana (537-584) clearly comes from some early Epyllion. Although it is put into Diana's mouth, she is mentioned three times in the 3rd person and never (in these lines) in the 1st. The number of jingling rhymes in ll. 570-576 is remarkable; and the succession of end-stopped lines in 573-580 with their contents is in the Catullan manner.

logy, this episode ought to come long after Book XII. and somehow be made parallel or subsequent to the historical prophecies in Book VI., only that the end of Book VI., the death of Marcellus, which took place in 23 B.C., is later even than the Battle of Actium in 31 and the triumphs of Augustus in 29 and 28 B.C. respectively. The result may be represented by a string of numbers. In the chronological order of what the Books tell us, they would stand thus :—

II.

III.

I.

IV.

V. (in its present form).

Part of VI.

VII.

X and part of XI.

VIII., IX., and part of XI. (anywhere between VII. and XII).

XII.

Part of VI.

Part of VIII.

Part of VI.

It is clear therefore that Vergil arranged his poem so as neither to begin at the beginning nor end at the end. Why he did so we have partly seen already, and we shall soon, I hope, realise even more clearly.

Now turn to the second question which goes rather deeper. How has Vergil contrived in marshalling the elements of his story to diversify without interrupting it? One answer at least is provided by the characteristic habit of Vergil's thought traced in a previous lecture,¹ his way of considering things in pairs, of combining two contrasted points of view. When we studied his *Eclogues*² we found that he had arranged them in definite alternation so that those with odd numbers had all Italian subjects, and that those with even numbers had subjects outside Italy. Now this love of alternation has shaped the structure of the whole *Æneid* in two ways; (1) by the contrast which Vergil has deliberately made between every pair of

¹ *The Philosophy of Vergil*, 1920 (*Bulletin of the J.R.L.*), vol. 6, pp. 384-401).

² *Where was Vergil's Farm*, 1922 (*Bulletin of the J.R.L.*, vol. 7, pp. 184-210).

consecutive Books, and (2) by the correspondence and contrast between each of the Books in the first half of the poem and the Book in the corresponding place in the second half. Take the latter point first.

Book I. and Book VII. narrate an arrival in a strange land, which proffers friendship at first. Venus prevailing over Juno is the controlling spirit of Book I.; Juno prevailing over Venus of Book VII.; and both books are full of oracles. Book II. and Book VIII. each tell the story of a city,—one doomed, the other yet to be founded, the second to succeed to the glory of the first. In both, the Greeks are the main actors; in Book II. they destroy, in Book VIII. they help to found. The story of each leaves the hero Æneas standing in the centre of the picture. In the next pair the hero is in fact out of the picture, for his part in the narrative of Book III. is virtually passive. Both Books are crowded with incidents which in Book III. centre mainly round the aged Anchises, in Book IX. mainly round the young Ascanius. Books IV. and X. again each have the hero in the centre of action; in Book IV. the conflict for him is within, between his duty and his love for Dido; in Book X. it is outside, with the Latins and Mezentius. In Book IV. private passion yields to public duty, in Book X. pity yields to the warrior's stern passion of revenge. In both, the chief mischief is done by the interference of divine persons, and in both the strain of tragedy reaches its highest point. The central movement of each perceptibly follows the path of Greek drama.

Books V. and XI. both open with funeral ceremonies. In Book V. Æneas appears as a wise ruler, allaying by his generous sympathy the disputes between his subjects; whereas in Book XI. the helpless King Latinus completely fails to avert civil dissension between the two factions of the Latins. In both there is a feminine incursion upon the natural order of events, and both end with the fate of a single personality, the death of Palinurus and the death of Camilla, both slain by some strange law of destiny, demanding, apparently, for any great cause the almost irrelevant sacrifice of innocent lives, *unum pro multis caput* (V. 815). Finally, Book VI. and Book XII. show us the founder of Rome first receiving and then executing his commission; first the revelation of the divine purpose, then its enactment through the reconciliation of Juno and the covenants of Æneas. Each Book ends with a death—one, that of Marcellus, consecrating the new order, the

other, that of Turnus, sealing the doom of the old. Any pair of these parallel features you may reject, if you will, as too fanciful ; but their number might easily be increased, and taken together, they seem to make too strong evidence of intention to be ascribed merely to accident.

But turn now to the actual alternation in the character of the Books, a point probably familiar to many ; the contrast of the grave and the less grave ; of a sense of tension and a sense of leisure ; a change from tragedy to something which if not comedy, is at all events melodrama of no very harrowing kind. This is the real division of the *Æneid*. The Books with odd numbers show what we may call the lighter or Odyssean type ; the Books with the even numbers reflect the graver colour of the *Iliad*. The only point of the *Æneid* at which this principle may be felt to apply less plainly than in the rest is in Books IX. and X. Yet a little reflection will tell us that although Book IX. does indeed contain one story of deep pathos, the fate of Nisus and Euryalus, nevertheless the atmosphere of the whole Book is very different from the lurid sky of Book X.

Now observe the effect of this alternation in the kind of matter which Vergil admits. We have seen that the Epic poet must never break into open laughter because that would interrupt the serious course of his story ; but he may, in suitable places, be playful ; he may stoop (or rise) to a gentle smile. In such sections of his work he may watch the actions of young or foolish creatures not merely with the grave historian's eye, but with a certain air of sympathy enlivening his judgement ; whereas in the more tragic parts, if his humour cannot be wholly kept out, it takes a grim form, as in the Sybil's mocking replies to Æneas in Book VI., or in the answer which the gods send to the prayer of the over-confident augur Tolumnius.¹

Contrast with this the gentle playfulness that we find constantly colouring the story in the Books with odd numbers. For want of realising this difference, grave commentators have passed solemn votes of censure on the poet for his surprising frivolity ; as in the footrace in Book V. where Nisus slips in the mud, but in rising manages to foul Salius so as to leave his friend Euryalus the winner. An incident of this kind, however Homeric, simply could not have appeared in Book

¹ Tolumnius promised victory to the Latins on the strength of an omen which he calls "an answer to my prayer ;" but, in the battle which he began, he is one of the first to fall in their general rout ; see XII. 259 and 460.

IV. or Book VI. ; nor could the spotted snake with its coat of many colours ; nor the wise old ladies who burn the ships to escape seasickness, nor several other incidents which together make Book V. very cheerful reading.

What is it, again, that has made Book I. such a favourite in every school all down the centuries ? It is just this gentle, playful touch which lightens so much of the story. Not the Swiss Family Robinson themselves could have lit on a luckier store of good things than Æneas' shipwrecked comrades—rescuing plenty of corn from the waves or from their wrecked ships ; cooking it on fire kindled from a handy flint ; with bows and arrows all ready, and a most obliging troop of stags coming down to be shot ; and plenty of wine in casks, unloaded with marvellous speed ! and how was the storm raised ? By Aeolus, bribed to do so by the promise of the beautiful nymph Deiopeia to be his bride. Of course she is Homeric, taken from Book XIV.—the frivolous portion of the *Iliad*, observe—and it is difficult to think that Vergil wished us to regard her as a very serious element in the fortunes of the founder of Rome. If Aeolus came by a new wife every time he raised a storm, well, he must have had an expensive household, and a very large cave ! It is a tempting task to trace this gentle humour in all the other Books with odd numbers ; in Book III. the disagreeable but futile Harpies and the muddles of the oracles ; in Book VII. poor Picus turned into a bird ; and the angry old lady Amata spinning¹ about the town so wildly in her fury that she is compared to a top whipped round a courtyard by a crowd of schoolboys ; in Book IX. the ships prettily and suddenly turned into nymphs ; the boyish generosity of Ascanius towards Nisus and Euryalus ; his own lucky shot at the declamatory Numanus ; and the not less boyish prowess of Turnus, shut up within the walls of the camp. In Book XI. we have the high comedy of the debate in the Latin Senate with Drances for Cicero and Turnus for Antony ; and the tragical comedy of poor Camilla pursuing Chloreus for the sake of his fine robes and so exposing herself to a treacherous arrow.

To these obvious examples of Vergil's lighter touch let me add that often, perhaps more often than not, the smile ends in a touch of pathos, sometimes deep pathos, as in the stories of Euryalus and Camilla ; but unless I am mistaken, the spirit in which these stories as a whole are

¹ L. 379 ff.

told hardly appears in the Books with even numbers.¹ And I cannot help feeling that we do not do justice to Vergil in reading any one of his Books, taken alone, unless in our reading we are fully conscious of this fundamental difference between the two series of the Books, those with odd and those with even numbers.

Finally let me point out what it is that unifies the *Æneid* in spite of the facts that it is unfinished, and that each of its Books stands out clearly, designed as a separate unit. What is it, nevertheless, that makes the whole a single, complete poem? It is the governing power of what we have seen to be in truth its crowning Book, but which Vergil has placed in the centre to unite all that stand before and all that stand after.

It is over forty years since I began to study the *Æneid* as a whole, and I have repeatedly been called upon to think about Book VI.; yet it is only in the last few months that this central and unifying function has become clear to my mind. There are several quite different ways in which the Book contributes a sense of unity to the whole Epic. No doubt we might, to start with, regard the visit of Æneas to the Under-world as a picturesque but merely incidental episode, which owed its place to the fact that in Homer's story Odysseus had also had dealings with the dead. This, as Heinze suggests, gave an element not very easy² to weave into the general plot. All that is true, and yet its truth is a revelation of Vergil's genius,—a measure of the power of imagination which has made it equally true that Book VI. is the keystone of the whole poem,—so profound is the effect of the Book upon our feelings about what has preceded and what is to follow.

We may note in passing that the frame of the Book is in Italy. Not till he reaches Italy can Æneas learn the truth; the base of the

¹ One clear exception must be admitted, the experiences of the little boy Ascanius at the end of Book II. But in the last Act of that Book, the tension is deliberately relieved; the climax is at the death of Priam. The only other exceptions, I believe, that might be urged are in the Tenth Book—the vision of Æneas on his voyage back to the Trojan Camp, and the one example of real mockery on the lips of Jove when he reproves Juno for her folly (ll. 608-610). I count these among the many indications of a comparatively early date for the first composition of this Book.

² In the *Odyssey*, as we all know, it remains a purple patch, or rather two purple patches, hopelessly disconnected from the rest.

Epic structure must be laid on Italian soil. Then observe in the first place that the Book sets the story of Troy and Rome for the first time in the light of universal Providence. It is true that in the First Book, and since, we have had promises and prophecies connecting the Trojan exiles with Rome and giving Æneas a steadily increasing something both to hope for and to do ; yet how small a section is this of the great world-drama, or world-procession, which the Sixth Book unfolds ! It is not, we now discover, the fate of a few exiles which is at stake ; it is the purpose of creation itself ; the whole divine ordering of the world from the first stirring of fiery breath in primæval chaos from the first imparting of divine life to individual men and other creatures, down to the long process of civilising barbarous humanity ; the process of which the Roman Empire was to be the consummation. Seen from such a mount of vision even the humblest details of the search for a site, of local traditions, of finding allies, of councils among gods or men, of sieges and storms, and broken faith and battles and single combats—all these incidents are transfigured. In Book VII. it is not merely a strange river by which the solitary exile lays him down to sleep and to dream of building a city on its banks ; it is the greatest river of human history, ‘the source of life,’ as Vergil calls it, for a host of ‘tall cities,’ rising to embrace its destiny. In Book VIII. it is not merely a thieving shepherd from a cave in grassy hills meeting punishment from stronger hands ; it is the whole instinct of social order, of moral law, vindicated by the great Hercules against Cacus, and in Vergil’s day vindicated against the Catilines, Antonies and Pompeys who had kept the world in chaos for three generations. And at the end it is not a mere Italian princeling, resisting the establishment of the new order which everyone else has sworn to welcome, whose death marks the end of the story ; it is the whole spirit of no compromise, of ‘dying hard,’ of resistance to the last on behalf of merely selfish claims, from which the Roman Empire was freed by the fall of Antony, freed for its work of ensuring peace and of opening the roads along which knowledge and Good Will were to spread. At both ends of the Epic the wall of time is swept away ; and the story of Æneas almost suddenly takes its place in an immortal and infinite Design.

Secondly, if the Sixth Book thus links the poem with universal Providence, it does so by frankly adopting a certain universal philosophy.

Whence comes this doctrine of the World-soul, of the relationship of all life to its spiritual source and goal, of the discipline through which the human soul must pass, the ages over which the creative purpose will range? Certainly not from the Epicurean carelessness or defiant despair by which Vergil's boyish questionings were surrounded. It is the creed of Vergil's mature thought; and it is also the finest flower of Greek philosophy, coming down in steadily growing significance from the speculations of the early Ionians to Socrates and Plato, and through them to the Stoics in whose hands, as we know, it became more of a religion than a philosophy, and was closely allied with the fundamental instincts of Roman life.

We must not now dwell on this tempting theme; let me add only that in allying his poem with Stoic teaching, Vergil did a great deal to bring that teaching into the central current of human progress; and that it was a certain spirit from which, till then, Stoicism had been conspicuously alien, but with which, as we shall see, Vergil somehow transfused it, that did more than anything to make it the natural ally of a new religion.

In the third place, it is obvious that the Book in a sense reveals the secret of the whole poem by linking its denouement to a central person, namely, Augustus. The conquests of the Cæsars had been prophesied before; the religious and social reforms of Augustus had been brightly set forth in the dealings of Æneas with his followers, especially in Book V.; but not until the prophecy of Anchises are we told that it is Augustus himself who shall travel through the Empire and make it one; who shall spread the Golden Age, not only over Italy, but throughout the known world. Henceforward when we read of the hard work of Hercules or Æneas, we know that we are to take them as an allegory¹ of the harder and longer task to be accomplished by the founder of the Roman Empire.

We may be sure, I think, that of these three elements in the Book—a central providence, a universal philosophy and a single person—the poet was conscious; that he deliberately set it before him to introduce them. But two other things came in perforce, because

¹ This bold word I owe to my friend Professor D. L. Drew, whose admirable essay on *The Allegory of the Æneid* (soon to be published) I read in manuscript in June 1924.

they had to, because he could not help it, because they were part of himself.

The first is a certain method,⁵ or spirit ; the power of which has brought Æneas to the Under-world and which will bring him back enlightened, to carry out his mission. It is the Golden Bough which he discovers amidst the darkness of the forest ; it is the new way of amnesty, 'the custom of peace' which the Empire is to take for its governing idea ; the conception of mercy, the central warmth of human affection.

It is this which gives a deeper meaning to all the vicissitudes of the Books which follow. Seen in the light of this revelation, every part of the struggle is irradiate with colours of the dawn. Nisus and Euryalus must fall, brave and beautiful boys ; but the story of their generous enterprise, their mutual self-sacrifice, the honour and affection which they receive from Ascanius and the Trojan elders, and the tragedy of the last scene in which the mother of Euryalus beholds their heads impaled on the enemies' spears and is gently led away into mourning by honoured commanders in the beleaguered host, the whole transfused by the depth of Vergil's pity has won the immortality which he promised ; promised indeed in an outburst¹ of confidence, very rare for him, which marks the temper of those two boys as the real foundation of the spiritual Rome.

"O happy both ! If aught my song avails,
No day shall reave you from remembering years
While by the Capitol's unmoving rock
Æneas' house shall stand, and He whom Rome
Calls Father, gives commandment to the world."

Fortunati ambo ! Si quid mea carmina possunt
nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet aëvo ;
dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

Providence, philosophy, person, method, to all these the Book adds one more supreme uniting power. On other occasions² we have seen how Vergil's faith in a well-meaning Providence was everywhere attended by a sense of profound mystery ; and that even in the final revelation of Anchises the reader is nowhere allowed to think that he

¹ IX., 446-449.

² See *Great Inheritance*, cc. ii. and vi.

knows all that we crave to know. Above all, this sense of mystery haunts Vergil's choice of a theme for the last scene of the revelation,—the crown of the prophecy of the Augustan age. For this Vergil, with sublime daring, chose the bitterest disappointment that Augustus ever suffered,—a calamity from which every other writer of his age had shrunk away,—the death of the young Marcellus. I am constrained to attempt a rough version of the lines to remind you of their general tenour.

Amid the throng
Beside him moved a youth of royal mien,
Clad with bright armour but with joyless eye
And countenance o'ershadowed. "Who is he,"
Æneas asked, "who follows in such wise
In great Marcellus' train? Is it his son,
Or some remoter scion of his line?"
How eagerly his comrades round him throng,
How noble his own stature! But his head
Night, hovering, wraps in gloomy shadow round.
Then answered him Anchises, through his tears:
"Seek not to learn the woe of thy descendants.
The fates will grant men but a moment's sight
Of that bright star before it sets again.
Too high the majesty of Rome had towered—
Such was your thought, ye gods—if men of Rome
Had boasted such a gift was theirs to keep.
Hark! from that soldiers' plain, that city of Mars,
Rises a bitter cry of lamentation.
What throng of sorrow shall thy waters see
Great Tiber, as they roll beside his grave!
Never on any child of Trojan seed
Shall Latin grandsires build such hope and none when with spur
He launched his foaming courser on the charge.
The land of Romulus foster half so proud.
Weep for that loyal heart, that valorous hand;
No foe had e'er encountered him unscathed
When sword to sword he fought, or
Oh child of all men's pity, could'st thou break
Fate's iron bar, thou should'st, thou shalt be yet
A true Marcellus, flower of all the line.
Come, fill your hands and bring me store of lilies,
Bring bluebells of the spring to deck his grave;
Come, let me crown my son, tho' vain the honour;
Crown him, and leave the issue."

The Sixth Book deals with death, we know, and therefore such an end is fitting. Fitting indeed, but what does it mean? What means

too the last line of the *Aeneid*, in which the twelfth Book is brought to a corresponding close by the death of Turnus, whose soul 'fled with a groan indignant through the shades?' The story of the *Aeneid*, like the whole of human life, to Vergil begins and ends in mystery; and this mystery unites every part of the story, just as it unites every person, every creature under the spell of our mortal condition. And why was this funeral picture, with its terrible memories, so welcome to Augustus and his sister, the bereaved mother, that no wealth or honour they could heap upon the poet seemed to them great enough thanks? And why, though to us Marcellus is only the name of a young prince who died before his time, why has this passage been counted always among the most golden utterances of all inspired speech? Because the mystery that it celebrates united Augustus with his subjects in the glow of their sympathy;—because it told him that though he was an Emperor, yet he was not alone;—though he was an Emperor, yet the powers of life could deal him as fierce a blow as the meanest of his subjects could suffer;—though he was an Emperor, he could find comfort, the only comfort, for such a grief, in the human affection to which the meanest of his subjects must turn when the dark day came. And in thus linking the mystery of death with the power of human love, the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* has not merely united the whole of that poem into a great forecast of the Christian good tidings; it has bound its author by the strongest chain to the heart of every reader through all the generations that came and are to come.

He saw afar the immemorable throng,
And bound the scattered ages with a song.¹

Human genius, at its highest, overpasses the mortal limit. Vergil's vision is not of the Augustans, but of all time; not Roman but cosmic. His epic is less a picture than a part of life. Its architecture springs from the ultimate foundations: its pillars are pillars of the world.

¹ *The Sovereign Poet* (Sir William Watson, *Odes and Other Poems*).

le 15 ebre

mon bon eservicain me manque, mais
 ma main supplée, autant qu'elle peut,
 J'en suis pour une somme considerable
 de malades depuis ma jaunisse le pere
 Bourdabou, a esté jaune, Mr a due
 de tout les presensmens, Mr de
 pomponne a peconé l'affaire de me mesme
 J'en thonnice de le voir a son dernier
 voyage et de causer longtemps avec
 luy, on l'attend encore a fois, ou demain
 Il n'y a point de voyage de mardi, mais
 le Roy adonné congé a ces ministres
 jusqu'a samedi, vous estes a la
 messe Monseigneur et due leant, a quelle
 cas a que des voitures de thonnice dans
 son espre a Mr de coligni, peut fort.

LA CORRESPONDANCE DE LA MARQUISE D'HUXELLES ET DU MARQUIS DE LA GARDE.

(À PROPOS DUNE RÉCENTE ACQUISITION DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE
JOHN RYLANDS).

PAR ROBERT FAWTIER, D. ÈS LETTRES.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

AU mois de février de cette année, l'attention du Bibliothécaire en Chef de la John Rylands Library fut attirée par l'article suivant du catalogue d'un libraire de Londres :

"French News Letters. An extraordinary series of news letters addressed to Madame la Marquise d'Huxelles, between 1687 and 1708, in 8 vols., thk. sm. 4to vellum, £12 12s.

"This very important and valuable series of news letters contains a large mass of interesting details concerning the doings of the French Court and the political and social history of the period."

La Bibliothèque John Rylands possédant déjà une intéressante série de gazettes manuscrites pour les années 1773 à 1793,¹ série dont nous entre-tiendrons peut-être quelque jour les lecteurs de ce bulletin, il parut intéressant de faire l'acquisition des huit manuscrits offerts par le libraire londonien.

La Bibliothèque John Rylands acquit donc ces huit volumes in 4° (236 × 170 mm.), reliés en parchemin blanc et portant au dos le titre suivant : *Lettres MSS. de Mad. la Marquis. d'Uxelles*, que suit une date, sauf dans le cas d'un volume où celle-ci est remplacée par la mention : *sans ordre*.

A l'examen on vit que cette correspondance, loin d'être adressée à Madame d'Huxelles, était en réalité adressé par cette dame, ou plutôt par son secrétaire, de la façon suivante :

Pierre Latte en Dauphiné²
au maistre de la poste pour faire tenir
à Monsieur
Monsieur le Marquis de La Garde
à La Garde.³

¹ Ce sont les manuscrits *French*, 42-51.

² Pierre Latte, chef lieu de canton de l'arr^t de Montélimar (Drôme).

³ La Garde Aithémar, à 5 km. E.N.E. de Pierre Latte.

Nous avons donc là un autre morceau de la correspondance de la marquise d'Huxelles et du marquis de La Garde, dont l'existence est bien connue des historiens du siècle de Louis XIV,¹ mais dont seuls trois volumes semblaient avoir subsisté, conservés à Avignon, à la Bibliothèque du Musée Calvet. Les huit volumes acquis par la Bibliothèque John Rylands ayant reçu les numéros 89 à 96 du fonds des Manuscrits Français de cette bibliothèque, on peut dresser le tableau suivant des volumes de cette correspondance qui nous sont parvenus :

		Années.	feuillets.
John Rylands Library, MS. French,	89	1687, 1688, 1689	317
”	90	1694, 1695	313
”	91	1696, 1697	371
”	92	1698, 1699	404
”	93	1700, 1701	445
”	94	1702, 1703	435
Avignon, Musée Calvet, MS.	1419	1704, 1705	440
John Rylands Library, MS. French	95	1708	295
Avignon, Musée Calvet, MS.	1420	1709, 1710	514
”	1421	1711, 1712	119
John Rylands Library, MS. French	96	<i>sans ordre</i> ²	346

L'histoire de cette collection n'est pas sans présenter bien des obscurités. On ne fera sans doute pas difficulté d'accepter le marquis de La Garde pour le premier propriétaire. Celui-ci mourut le 8 août 1713 sans laisser d'enfants³ et nous ne savons à qui furent donnés ses papiers. Il serait peut-être possible de le savoir en parcourant la correspondance de Joseph de Seytres, marquis de Caumont, aujourd'hui conservée à Avignon.⁴ Voltaire, préparant son *Siècle de Louis XIV*, écrivait en effet à ce personnage, le 24 août 1735 : “Eh bien, monsieur, avez-vous trouvé dans les lettres de feu

¹ Cf. Bourgeois et André, *Les sources de l'histoire de France, XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1913, in-8°, t. II, n° 1118.

² Ce volume contient la plus grosse partie des lettres autographes de la marquise d'Huxelles, un certain nombre de documents ou de copies de documents joints par elle à ses gazettes et qui ont été détachés de celles-ci, enfin des gazettes de la marquise qui se trouvent là au lieu d'être leur place dans les divers autres volumes de la collection.

³ Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France*, Paris, 1726-1733, in-fol., t. VII, p. 930.

⁴ MSS. 2374-2375, 3466, 3467.

Mame d'Uxelles quelques particularités dont vous pensez que je puisse faire usage?"¹ Faut-il en conclure que le marquis de Caumont était alors le propriétaire des lettres ou qu'il pouvait seulement en avoir communication? C'est une question à laquelle seule la correspondance de M. de Caumont peut permettre de répondre, si elle contient quelque chose à ce sujet. Nous n'entendons plus parler de cette correspondance de Madame d'Huxelles pendant plus d'un siècle. Nous constatons en particulier que Monmerqué, dans la première de ses éditions des lettres de Madame de Sévigné, édition parue en 1818, l'ignore entièrement. Nous constatons en revanche que dans sa seconde édition, préparée par lui mais publiée après sa mort, il cite dans ses annotations à la lettre 1150² une lettre de Madame d'Huxelles à Monsieur de La Garde, lettre qui se retrouve aujourd'hui au f° 79 du manuscrit *French* 89 de la Bibliothèque John Rylands. En faut-il conclure que M. Monmerqué a été le propriétaire de nos manuscrits ou qu'il en a eu seulement communication? L'examen du catalogue de la bibliothèque de cet érudit pourrait permettre de résoudre ce problème.³ En 1878 la Bibliothèque du Musée Calvet à Avignon, acquit, pour employer les termes même du catalogue officiel, les trois volumes contenant les années 1704-1705, 1709-1710, 1711-1712. Mais cette acquisition s'entoure de circonstances bizarres comme on peut le voir par le volume intéressant qu'a consacré à la marquise d'Huxelles et ses amis le comte E. de Barthélemy.⁴

Cet érudit entreprenant son travail eut connaissance de l'existence de ces volumes et en demanda communication à Paris. Le bibliothécaire du Musée Calvet, M. de Loye, lui répondit par une lettre que M. de Barthélemy publia en appendice à son volume⁵ et dont certains passages méritent d'être reproduits: "Monsieur, J'ai jugé inutile de faire de nouvelles démarches auprès de la personne qui a déposé au Musée Calvet la correspondance manuscrite de la Marquise d'Huxelles, dont vous demandiez l'envoi à Paris. . . . La copie en serait longue et volumineuse. Je n'ai pas cherché à m'informer du prix qu'elle pourrait coûter, étant persuadé que le propriétaire n'autoriserait pas une transcription dont l'effet immédiat serait d'avilir un

¹ Voltaire, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris, Garnier, 1880, in-8°, *Correspondance*, t. I, p. 515.

² t. VIII, p. 528, n. 21 de l'édition de la Collection des *Grands écrivains de la France* publiée chez Hachette.

³ La Bibliothèque John Rylands ne possède pas ce catalogue. Cet article était achevé quand une lettre de M. Jean Lemoine m'a appris que les manuscrits achetés par la John Rylands Library avait fait partie de la collection Morrison. Mais j'ignore d'où les tenait ce collectionneur.

⁴ Ed. de Barthélemy, *La Marquise d'Huxelles et ses amis*, Paris, 1881, in-8°.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 362-363.

manuscrit qui n'est pas autographe. S'il s'agissait de quelques courts extraits, ce serait sans doute différent." Si l'on veut bien considérer que les manuscrits sont donnés comme "acquis" en 1878 et que le livre de M. de Barthélemy a paru en 1881, on sera contraint d'avouer que l'acquisition semble avoir été entourée d'un mystère et de restrictions pour le moins étranges.

Le livre de M. de Barthélemy lui-même ne contribue pas à éclaircir les ténèbres qui entourent l'histoire de cette correspondance. Cet érudit déclare dans sa préface¹ avoir utilisé les archives du château de La Rivière-Bourdet et dédie son livre à la propriétaire de celles-ci, Madame la Princesse de Montholon-Sémonville. Malheureusement, M. de Barthélemy est extrêmement discret sur ce qu'il a trouvé dans ces archives. S'il reconnaît y avoir découvert les gazettes adressées par Madame d'Huxelles à Madame de Bernières,² en revanche il ne donne aucune indication d'origine quand il écrit : "Madame d'Huxelles a conservé dans ses papiers . . ." ³ et n'est pas beaucoup plus explicite sur le caractère de ces "papiers." De même à la suite d'une phrase aussi anodine que celle-ci : "Dans une de ses lettres à M. de la Garde, Madame d'Huxelles lui dit : . . ." il publie une lettre du 13 Septembre 1690⁴ sans nous dire où se trouvent ces lettres. Et cela est d'autant plus fâcheux que l'année 1690 de la correspondance de la marquise d'Huxelles et du marquis de La Garde est une de celles qui n'ont pas encore été localisées. Il nous manque en effet, en admettant que le manuscrit *French* 89 contienne le début de la collection, les années 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1706 et 1707, probablement trois volumes.

En réalité il en manque plus. Si le manuscrit *French* 89 porte au dos les millesimes 1687, 1688, 1689, il ne contient que des lettres de 1689. C'est qu'en effet les huit manuscrits conservés aujourd'hui à Manchester ont été au courant du xix^e siècle la propriété d'un travailleur français (il vaudrait mieux dire vandale) qui leur a fait subir un fâcheux traitement. S'il a conservé intactes les couvertures et le dos en parchemin blanc de chaque volume, il a en revanche brisé les reliures de ces volumes. Sans doute il avait une excuse. Les lettres ne portant pas souvent la mention de l'année, mais seulement l'indication du jour et du mois où elles sont écrites, il y a eu des erreurs de classement, et c'est pour remédier en partie à celles-ci que les reliures ont été brisées. Mais outre que cette excuse est médiocre, elle ne vaut pas pour une autre indignité dont ont eu à souffrir les volumes. Ce propriétaire anonyme a lu les lettres la plume à la main, il a rayé (heureusement dans le sens vertical) certains passages, il a ajouté des appréciations "Bon," "Mauvais," peut-être destinées à un copiste. On trouve même sur une liste

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

des bénéfices distribués par le roi le 25 Decembre 1694, deux traits de plume et la note suivante: "On pense que cette liste étant historique doit être imprimée."¹ Le même propriétaire a également utilisé le verso laissé en blanc de certains feuillets pour y copier des passages des lettres qui parfois se retrouvent dans les volumes, mais parfois aussi manquent. Est-ce ainsi qu'ont disparu les années 1687 et 1688? C'est encore une question que nous devons laisser sans réponse.

On le voit l'histoire de cette collection est loin d'être éclaircie et les pages qui précédent n'ont nulle autre prétention que d'attirer l'attention sur les points obscurs de celle-ci. On voudrait dans les pages qui vont suivre essayer de montrer l'intérêt de cette correspondance, et poser un certain nombre de points d'interrogation avec l'espoir qu'il se trouvera quelque érudit de la lignée intellectuelle de M. de Boislie pour donner de cette masse d'environ 8000 pages de renseignements sur le siècle de Louis XIV une édition où toutes les difficultés seront éclaircies.

La correspondante du marquis de La Garde est assez bien connue.² Née en 1626, fille de Nicolas de Bailleul (ou Le Bailleul) qui fut Surintendant des Finances et Ministre d'Etat, et de la seconde femme de celui-ci Elisabeth Marie Mallier, Marie de Bailleul épousa en février 1644 François de Brichanteau, marquis de Nangis. Ce grand seigneur eut peu de temps le bonheur, ou l'infortune, d'être l'époux de Marie de Bailleul, un boulet mit fin à ses jours devant Gravelines en juillet de la même année. Sa veuve se consola rapidement, si tant est qu'elle en eut besoin, et, en octobre 1645, convola de nouveau avec Louis Chalon du Blé, marquis d'Huxelles. Elle le trompa généreusement jusqu'à ce qu'il subit, devant la même place de Gravelines, le même sort que son prédécesseur au titre d'époux de Marie de Bailleul, le 8 août 1658, au moment où il allait recevoir le baton de maréchal de France. La douleur de Madame d'Huxelles ne fut pas plus vive dans ce second malheur qu'elle ne l'avait été dans le premier. Si peut-être sa conduite prêta moins au scandale³ qu'auparavant, la douleur n'y eut point de part. Mais devenue par ses deux veuvages une grande dame, de bourgeoisie qu'elle était née, elle se prépara une vieillesse agréable en se faisant beaucoup

¹ MS. *French* 90, f° 159.

² Je résume très rapidement ce que nous dit le comte de Barthélemy dans son volume.

³ M. de Barthélemy a donné de l'inconduite de Madame d'Huxelles, des preuves surabondantes; pourtant M. de Boislie a retrouvé et publié dans une note à son édition de Saint Simon un couplet à l'appui de la vertu de la marquise (t. xxiii, p. 45, n. 10).

d'amis qui n'étaient point uniquement des compagnons de plaisir. En 1669 son fils aîné fut tué au siège de Candie, et Madame d'Huxelles montra à cette occasion une douleur véritable. Elle se retourna définitivement vers Dieu et racheta par des années de dévotion bien comprise une jeunesse par trop orageuse. A partir de 1680 elle vécut de plus en plus retirée dans son hôtel de la rue Saint Anne, près des Nouvelles Catholiques où la mort la vint trouver le 29 Avril 1712, ayant conservé nous dit Saint Simon "des amis et de la considération jusqu'au bout."¹ Car si Madame d'Huxelles se retira peu à peu du monde, le monde la suivit dans sa retraite. Le même Saint Simon, qui parle d'elle avec respect, nous dit qu'elle eut autour d'elle "des gens d'esprit et de lettres, et des vieillards de l'ancienne cour,"² "une sorte de tribunal . . . où la campagne fut longtemps bonne et trayée et où le prix se distribuait aux gens et aux choses."³

Le marquis de La Garde est pour le moment moins connu. Antoine Escalins des Aimars ou d'Adhemar, marquis de La Garde, était le fils de Louis Escalins de Aimars, baron de La Garde et de Françoise de La Baume-Sage,⁴ qui n'est point la *Galaxée* du Dictionnaire des Précieuses.⁵ Il était un peu plus âgé que Madame d'Huxelles, étant né vers 1623. Nous ne savons rien de sa jeunesse. Quoique son nom ne figure pas sur les états de la maison d'Anne d'Autriche,⁶ il est certain qu'il eut quelque emploi auprès de cette princesse. Madame d'Huxelles lui écrivait en effet le 2 Janvier 1697 :

"Je n'ay pu m'empescher en reconnoissance de la domesticité de feu mon père auprès de la Reyne,⁷ vostre maitresse, et de 20 mil écus qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de me donner, de la faire copier sur un original de la pauvre Gourdon,⁸ des meilleurs que j'aye veüs, habillée de velours noir, un mouchoir des beaux ouvrages de son temps, coëffée de ses beaux cheveux avec une pointe, le petit voile, parée de cette belle croix de diamants, ses grosses perles

¹ éd. de Boislisle, t. XXIII, p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 38.

⁴ Anselme, t. VII, p. 930.

⁵ éd. Ch. L. Livet, Paris, 1856, 2 vol. in 8°. Livet dans sa clef historique (t. II, p. 236) est d'un avis contraire. Cependant le P. Anselme ne donne aucune fille au baron et à la baronne de La Garde et d'autre part nulle part on ne trouve mention d'une sœur du marquis de La Garde. Or, Galaxée avait une fille.

⁶ Cf. *Etat de la maison du roi Louis XIII, de celles . . . de sa femme Anne d'Autriche . . . comprenant les années 1601 à 1665*, publié par Ch. Griselle, Paris, 1912, in-8°.

⁷ Le président de Bailleul avait été Chancelier de la reine Anne d'Autriche de 1630 à 1652.

⁸ Henriette de Gourdon de Hontely, longtemps dame d'atour de Madame de Bavière, compromise dans l'affaire de la Brinvillier.

en poire au bout, où elle porte l'une de ses incomparables mains, ayant au bras une table de diamants que vous reconnoîtrez à la relation. Enfin, Monsieur, il n'y manque que vous portant sa queue à ces jours de cérémonie où elle estoit parée. Nous l'avons veüe passer, nous en voyons tous les jours passer d'autres, et en bonne foy cecy n'est que vanité."¹

Nous ne savons pas davantage, quoiqu'il soit sans doute assez facile de le découvrir, quelle était la nature de ses relations avec Philippe d'Orléans, Monsieur, frère de Louis XIV. Nous nous plaçons à espérer qu'elles furent tout officielles. Mais qu'il "ait été à Monsieur" comme on disait alors, c'est ce qui ne fait point doute, si l'on lit le billet que lui adressa Madame d'Huxelles, le 10 Juin 1701, à la mort de ce prince :

"Vos saintes réflexions, Monsieur, vous mettront au dessus de la surprise, car la mort ny l'issue de la maladie n'estonne point les gens de bien, parcequ'ils l'ont toujours devant les yeux. Mais il me semble que l'on vous doit des complimens sur la perte que nous venons de faire en mémoire de la feuë Reyne mère et de ce que vous aves vescu sy longtemps avec le prince que nous regrettons. Je m'en acquitte donc osant vous répondre de ma fidélité à vous honorer pendant que Dieu me conservera la vie. On dit que Monsieur avoit fait son jubilé en dévotion très grande et que depuis quelque mois il songeoit à son salut. On craignoit ce qui luy est arrivé. Le Roy luy dit qu'il avoit envie de le faire seigner plustost que luy donner à disner où il mangea à crever et le soir encore. Enfin il avoit une tristesse extrême, présage de ce malheur. L'opéra cessa hier et tout le monde ne scavoit que dire."²

Comme tout bon gentilhomme, Monsieur de La Garde servit le Roi aux armées, son nom se trouve parmi ceux des seigneurs revenus de l'armée avec le Roi en Juillet 1675 dans une lettre de Madame de Sévigné.³ Nous savons qu'il fut "gouverneur des ville et chatellenie de Furnes"⁴ et nous pouvons croire qu'il servit avec quelque distinction. Madame d'Huxelles, veuve de deux hommes de guerre et mère d'un maréchal de France ne lui écrivait-elle pas à propos du siège de Bude en 1686 : "Je ne m'étonne point, Monsieur, qu'un aussi bon homme de guerre que vous, et par dessus le marché bon chrestien, n'ait beaucoup d'attention à ce siège qui sera fameux dans l'histoire."⁵ Il est probable que les archives parisiennes et provençales

¹ MS. *French* 91, ff. 163 v^o-164.

² *Ibid.*, 96, ff. 319-320. Cette lettre est de la main de Madame d'Huxelles. On connaît l'admirable récit de cet événement que nous a donné Saint Simon (éd. de Boislisle, t. VIII, 316-328). Madame d'Huxelles ne donne guère plus de détails dans sa gazette du 10 juin de la main du secrétaire (MS. *French* 93, f^o 326), elle est plus prolixé sur les suites de cette mort dans les gazettes des jours suivants.

³ ed. Monmerqué, t. III, p. 525.

⁴ Anselme, *loc. cit.*

⁵ MS. *French* 89, f^o 209 v^o.

permettraient sans trop de difficulté, de reconstituer la carrière militaire du marquis de La Garde. Pour le moment ce que nous savons de lui nous vient surtout de Madame de Sévigné.

Monsieur de La Garde était en effet l'arrière petit fils de Louis François Adhemar comte de Grignan et de Jeanne d'Ancézune, grands parents eux-mêmes de François Adhemar, comte de Grignan qui épousa en troisièmes noces Françoise Marguerite de Sévigné, la fille de la célèbre marquise. Il est donc du milieu Grignan et comme tel son nom revient sans cesse dans la correspondance de Madame de Sévigné.¹ Cette dernière semble l'avoir tenu en fort grande estime et à différentes reprises recommande à sa fille de témoigner des égards au marquis de la Garde.² C'est par Madame de Sévigné que nous connaissons entre autres choses le projet de mariage que forma en 1676 Monsieur de La Garde. Il avait passé la cinquantaine et il voulait se marier. Les choses allèrent assez loin puisque Madame de Sévigné se chargea d'acheter la corbeille, non sans avoir d'ailleurs quelques inquiétudes touchant le paiement. Chose singulière, Madame de Sévigné ne nous fournit pas le nom de la jeune fille, ou de la veuve, à laquelle allait s'unir M. de La Garde. "Je n'ai point eu de curiosité" dit elle "de questionner sur le sujet de sa femme."³ Evidemment elle voyait ce mariage d'un assez mauvais œil comme en témoigne le cri de joie qu'elle poussa en apprenant qu'il était rompu.⁴ Les raisons de cette joie sont malheureusement quelque peu sordides. Les Grignan, toujours sans le sou et toujours en dépense, comptaient sur l'héritage du marquis de La Garde. Le frère de ce dernier, Jean Antoine Escalin des Aimars, chevalier de Malte, était mort en 1634. On comptait que le marquis de La Garde laisserait ses biens aux Grignan. Ce n'était pas grand' chose, le château de La Garde et ses terres, mais pour des gens toujours aux abois comme les Grignan la plus petite aubaine était la bienvenue. On comprend donc leur émoi, et par contre-coup celui de Madame de Sévigné, quand, en 1689, Monsieur de La Garde dont les pensions avaient été supprimées, (elles furent rétablies en 1690) songea à se défaire de son marquisat. Madame de Sévigné écrivit alors à sa fille une lettre que l'on voudrait pouvoir déclarer fausse: "Mais parlons de cette *sagesse*⁵ qui me

¹ Les renvois aux passages où son nom se rencontre remplissent trois colonnes de l'index de l'édition Monmerqué.

² Par exemple dans la lettre du 14 juillet 1677: "Je suis très contente de La Garde; il est aise de l'aimer; il est estimable par mille raisons; ses soins me persuadent qu'il croit que vous m'aimez et je suis flattée de l'approbation qu'il donne à votre gout" (éd. Monmerqué, t. V, p. 209).

³ éd. Monmerqué, t. IV, p. 487.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, p. 121.

⁵ C'est le surnom que Madame de Sévigné semble avoir donné à La Garde.

paraît une folie mue, comme une rage mue ; c'est un fond de rage muette : un chien ne paraît point enragé, il semble qu'il soit sage, et cependant il est profondément dévoré de cette rage ; ma chère enfant, c'est tout de même." Et cela continue sur ce ton pendant deux pages.¹ Il n'est que juste d'ajouter, qu'informée des motifs de cette résolution, qui d'ailleurs n'eut point d'exécution, Madame de Sévigné fit amende honorable. On aimerait pour sa gloire qu'elle ne se fût point mise dans le cas de la faire.

C'est sans doute vers 1680 que l'objet de ces louanges et de ces blâmes de la marquise de Sévigné se retira du monde, c'est du moins la dernière fois que nous constatons sa présence à Paris.² Retiré dans son château de La Garde, ne le quittant que pour faire des séjours dans celui, voisin, de Grignan, le marquis de La Garde faisait son salut. Mais cette dévotion, teintée de Jansénisme,³ ne l'empêchait pas de conserver quelque intérêt pour le monde dont il laissait bien volontiers les bruits venir jusqu'à lui. La marquise d'Huxelles s'en chargea.

Quand Madame d'Huxelles connut-elle le marquis de La Garde ? Fut-ce au temps de la Régence, quand il était attaché à la Reine Mère dont Madame d'Huxelles semble avoir été bien vue ? C'est fort probable, mais pour le moment malaisé à prouver. Il est certain en tous cas qu'il y eut entre eux une solide amitié. N'y eut il pas autre chose ? La "furie" que, aux dires de Madame de Sévigné, la marquise d'Huxelles aurait témoignée en 1676 à l'annonce des projets matrimoniaux de Monsieur de La Garde⁴ semblerait le faire croire. Mais il ne faut pas oublier que cette "furie" ne nous est connue que par Madame de Sévigné dont les propos ne doivent être acceptés qu'avec réserve, et aussi que l'amitié peut être aussi jalouse que l'amour, sinon plus.

Quoique il en soit, jusqu'à la mort de la marquise d'Huxelles, M. de La

¹ éd Monmerqué, t. IX, pp. 124-126.

² Par une lettre de Madame de Sévigné de cette date (éd. Monmerqué, t. VI, p. 251). Il fit encore au moins un voyage à Paris comme on le voit par le début de ce billet autographe de Madame d'Huxelles, en date du 16 Octobre [1693] : "M^r le chevalier de Grignan m'a fait l'honneur de me venir apprendre que vous aviez passé à Melun et à Montbar, Monsieur, avec d'assez bons yeux pour leur donner de vos nouvelles. Quand ils ne seroient pas assez libres à Chalon nous en scauront (*sic*) toujours. Je ne vous en diray pas davantage, la tendresse humaine m'ayant paru vous fatiguer. Je suis bien malheureuse, moy, d'avoir trop de sensibilité et de m'estre figurée comme le souverain bien des soutiens contre la vieillesse. Dieu m'en a bien desabusé cependant. . . ." (MS. *French* 96, fo 174.)

³ Il existe d'assez nombreuses lettres de la marquise d'Huxelles qui nous la montrent recherchant pour M. de La Garde des livres de M. Arnauld.

⁴ éd. Monmerqué, t. V, p. 25.

Garde reçut régulièrement les lettres de celle-ci. Il lui survécut de peu et mourut le 8 Août 1713.

M. de Loye, conservateur de la Bibliothèque d'Avignon, formulait l'opinion suivante touchant la correspondance de Madame d'Huxelles dans la lettre au comte de Barthélemy que nous avons déjà eu occasion de citer : "Maintenant, puisque vous voulez mon avis sur la valeur intrinsèque du recueil, je vous dirai qu'elle est à peu près nulle sous le rapport littéraire. La Marquise d'Huxelles n'est pas femme de lettres, c'est une nouvelliste avant tout. Elle dicte sans prétention tout ce qu'elle sait, uniquement pour en instruire le Marquis de La Garde qu'elle a en très grande estime et amitié. Sa correspondance vaut comme gazette : on y trouve pêle-mêle les nouvelles de la cour, de la ville, de l'armée, de la diplomatie, etc. recueillies par une grande dame qui était en mesure d'être bien informée. Du reste s'il y a beaucoup de faits, il y a peu de détails. En général les articles sont assez brefs. Cependant il est certain qu'on y trouverait souvent des renseignements exacts et utiles qu'on chercherait vainement dans les gazettes ou les mémoires contemporains. En somme c'est un recueil qui mérite d'être consulté au point de vue de l'histoire et de la biographie."

Ce jugement de M. de Loye, encore que sévère, vaut semble-t-il pour les dernières années de la correspondance et peut s'appliquer, avec quelques adoucissements, aux lettres de l'année 1708 contenues dans le manuscrit *French* 95 ; mais appliqué à toute la correspondance il tendrait à en donner une idée fausse. C'est ce que nous voudrions montrer en examinant successivement la correspondance de Madame d'Huxelles du point de vue de son organisation, de son information, de son intérêt historique et littéraire.

Madame d'Huxelles envoie par semaines trois ordinaires à Monsieur de La Garde ; quand il lui arrive de dépasser ce nombre elle s'en explique comme dans ce billet du "5^e au soir," probablement de 1689 : "Cette augmentation d'exactitude, Monsieur, en faveur de M. le comte et de M^e la comtesse de Grignan,¹ car voicy les trois ordinaires de la semaine remplis d'une grande abondance de tous les côtés."² Elle écrit le lundi, le mercredi et le vendredi comme elle nous l'apprend dans une lettre du 27 juillet, très probablement de 1688 : "voicy le deuxième de la semaine. Je n'eus point l'honneur de vous écrire lundi, mais mercredi et aujourd'huy vendredi."³ Il est possible que l'année suivante l'un des jours ait changé, car elle écrit le 10 juin 1689 : "Je vous envoie bien des nouvelles ensemble. Pourveu que

¹ Le gendre et la fille de Madame de Sévigné.

² MS. *French* 95, fo 81 v.

³ *Ibid.*, 96, fo 316.

vous les puissies lire. C'est lundy, mardi et vendredy tout à la fois.”¹ Cette régularité dans sa correspondance était une des qualités dont Madame d'Huxelles était fière,² elle était en effet exceptionnelle. Toutefois elle le paraîtra moins si l'on songe que la marquise écrivait la même lettre pour plusieurs de ses amis.

Le comte de Barthélemy a déjà signalé que Madame d'Huxelles envoyait ses gazettes à différentes personnes. Il a nommé l'évêque de Saint Pons, M^{gr} de Percin de Montgaillard, il a publié quelques unes des gazettes expédiées à Madame de Bernières. Mais M. de Barthélemy ne s'est point demandé s'il y avait une rédaction différente pour chacune des personnes que la marquise d'Huxelles fournissait de nouvelles. On trouve sur cette question de précieux renseignements dans les lettres à Monsieur de La Garde conservées à Manchester.

Ces lettres, si elles sont adressées au marquis de la Garde, ne lui sont pas toujours uniquement destinées. Elles le sont pour le moins autant aux membres de la famille de Grignan quand ils résident dans leur château, voisin de celui de La Garde et où se transporte souvent le marquis. Mais il y a plus. Nous trouvons en effet, à la fin de la lettre-gazette du 16 Mars 1699, la phrase suivante : “Je vous supplie, Monsieur, après lecture prise de ces nouvelles de les envoyer à M^r le marquis de la Garde à l'adresse du maistre de la poste de Pierre Latte en Dauphinée ou d'autres commodités que vous devez scavoir mieux que moy, qui vous crois le premier pour faire la pose. Luy aura soin, s'il luy plaist, de les faire tenir à M^r l'Abbé de Bussy.”³ On se repasse donc de mains en mains ces bulletins de nouvelles. C'est une sorte de journal clandestin. Les destinataires en sont outre M. de La Garde, M. de Canaples, l'abbé de Bussy, l'archevêque d'Arles, d'autres encore que nous ignorons. La marquise n'écrivait-elle pas à M. de La Garde que “la feuille est circulaire et va vers l'océan comme la Méditerranée?”⁴

Parfois, le plus souvent sans doute, on les faisait copier. Le 20 octobre 1698 on prie M^r de La Garde de transmettre sa feuille à l'abbé de Bussy à Arles “parcequ'il est tard et qu'on n'a pas le loisir céans de copier pour les [les nouvelles] envoyer à droiture.”⁵ Pour ces copies on avait recours à un secrétaire et aussi aux laquais, comme on peut le voir par la note suivante, de la main même de Madame d'Huxelles à la gazette du 19 Avril 1697 : “Mon escriptoire est un peu sur le costé. De deux laquais que j'avois, l'un est allé à La Trape et l'autre se met à l'office de M. le comte de Toloze.”⁶

¹ MS. *French* 96, f^o 309 v^o.

² Voir la lettre du 25 janvier 1689 publiée plus loin.

³ MS. *French* 92, f^o 249 v^o. Je ne sais qui était le premier destinataire de la lettre, peut-être M. de Canaples à Lyon.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 96, f^o 232. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 92, f^o 146 v^o.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 91, f^o 229 v^o.

Ainsi c'est une véritable entreprise, un véritable bureau de nouvelles que tient la marquise d'Huxelles, et ceci nous explique peut-être pourquoi nous n'avons pas dans les manuscrits de M. de La Garde de lettres antérieures à 1687. Rien ne nous empêche de croire que, avant cette date, Madame d'Huxelles n'aura pas eu un correspondant plus éloigné d'elle que M. de La Garde en sorte que les nouvelles ne faisaient que passer par les mains de celui-ci.

Il y a cependant une petite difficulté qui tendrait à faire croire que ce commerce de nouvelles n'a pas dû commencer bien longtemps avant. Nous ne trouvons en effet que quelques lettres autographes de Madame d'Huxelles antérieures à cette date.¹

Ce serait en effet une erreur de se représenter cette correspondance de la marquise d'Huxelles et du marquis de La Garde comme quelque chose d'impersonnel, tel que le serait une gazette dictée même par une femme spirituelle. Souvent la marquise joint à ses lettres-nouvelles un billet de sa main. Si les trois manuscrits conservés à Avignon ne contiennent aucun autographe de la marquise, les manuscrits de Manchester en sont au contraire fort riches : une soixantaine de lettres entièrement écrites de sa main, de nombreuses notes ajoutées par elle aux gazettes, notes dont l'étendue varie de deux lignes à deux pages. Il faut aussi ajouter une centaine de lettres d'un caractère presque exclusivement personnel quoique dictées. On voit donc que c'est bien une véritable correspondance que nous avons là, correspondance destinée à accompagner ou à commenter les nouvelles qui demeurent évidemment l'essentiel.

Comment Madame d'Huxelles se procure-elle celles-ci ? Il faut tout de suite marquer que les gazettes imprimées sont connues de Madame d'Huxelles et de ses correspondants et qu'elles ne sont pas la source à laquelle puise la marquise.² Celle-ci avait toujours eu du goût pour l'information, pour parler le langage des journaux. M. de Barthélemy a déjà signalé les services qu'elle s'efforça de rendre dans ce sens au surintendant Fouquet. Or, le grand centre d'information c'était évidemment la cour. On s'attendrait donc à voir Madame d'Huxelles résider à Versailles et mener la vie de la cour. Au lieu de cela, elle réside à Paris et ne va presque jamais à la cour. Saint Simon l'avait déjà noté. "C'était," dit-il, "une femme de beaucoup d'esprit, qui avait eu de la beauté et de la galanterie, qui savoit, et qui avoit

¹ MS. *French* 96, f° 126 [4 Janvier 1673], f° 158 [29 Dec. 1685], f° 301 [21 Juillet 1686], f° 227 [21 Aout 1686]. Ces lettres prouvent à l'évidence que la gazette existait à l'époque où elles sont écrites mais alors on ne comprend pas pourquoi elles ne sont pas plus nombreuses.

² Voir par exemple la fin de la gazette du 28 janvier 1689 publiée à l'appendice.

été du grand monde toute sa vie, mais point de la cour.”¹ Non qu'elle n'y put aller. M. de Barthélemy a montré qu'elle y était en faveur, et elle même tenait parfois à le rappeler comme on le voit par ce passage de la gazette du 20 février 1689 : “Madame de Sévigné a esté à Esther dont elle est revenue charmée,² le Roy luy a demandé son advis sur la beauté de la pièce. J'ose prier Monsieur de La Garde et Mons^r le Doyen³ de ne m'en pas moins aymer pour n'avoir point de part aus faveurs de la terre. . . . Une petite vanité m'oblige de dire que j'aurois peüe estre des fortunées, sy je l'avois bien entrepris, et j'en ay par devers moy des preuves du temps passé, mais je suis trop caduque pour me produire.”⁴ Et le 1^{er} mars, revenant sur le même sujet, elle déclare : “Pour moy, Monsieur, je n'ayme plus que ma commodité et ma chambre.”⁵ N'allant point à la cour, centre des nouvelles, il faut que les nouvelles viennent à elle. Monsieur de Barthélemy a également identifié quelques un de ses informateurs, Gourville, Bartet, M. de Callières. De ce dernier, nous trouvons dans les manuscrits de Manchester trois lettres qui ont été expédiées telles quelles à Monsieur de La Garde,⁶ l'une mérite d'être en partie reproduite parce qu'elle nous montre avec quel empressement ce personnage renseignait sa vieille amie, en même temps que le roi lui-même,

¹ éd. de Boislisle, t. XXIII, p. 45.

² Voir la lettre célèbre de Madame de Sévigné du 21 février (éd. Monmerqué, t. VIII, p. 476).

³ C'est le doyen du chapitre de Grignan dont il est souvent question dans les lettres de Madame de Sévigné. Il s'appellait Rippert.

⁴ MS. *French*, 89, fo 51^{vo}.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fo 60^{vo}.

⁶ Il n'est cependant pas absolument sûr que ces trois lettres, dont l'écriture est la même, soient des originaux. Nous trouvons en effet dans l'une d'entre elles, du 12 juillet 1708, datée de Fontainebleau, la phrase suivante : “Comme je vous dois compte de mon loisir, je vous envoie une lettre de ma façon qu'on a jugé à propos de faire imprimer pour répondre à une autre lettre injurieuse faite par un envoyé d'Ang^{re} nommé Mr. Stanian contre l'entreprise d'Escosse. Je l'ay présentée au Roy qui a eu la bonté de l'approuver” (MS. *French* 95, fo 156). Si les trois lettres sont de la main de M. de Callières, ce dernier serait donc l'auteur d'une lettre contre Abraham Stanyan, ministre d'Angleterre en Suisse, en réponse à une lettre de ce dernier. Or, la lettre d'Abraham Stanyan ne se retrouve pas au British Museum et l'auteur de l'article consacré à ce personnage dans le *Dictionary of National Biography* en mentionne l'existence et la date sans indiquer où s'en trouve un exemplaire. D'autre part, la lettre de M. de Callières est également introuvable. En revanche, nous savons que le chevalier l'Estoile de Graville, qui fut ministre de France en Suisse à l'époque où Stanyan s'y trouvait, a polemiqué sérieusement contre ce dernier. Est-il l'auteur de la lettre en question et faut-il voir en lui un autre informateur de Madame d'Huxelles? J'ajoute d'ailleurs que la lettre ne se retrouve pas davantage parmi les oeuvres de Graville.

sinon avant. Callières est en Hollande en train de conclure la paix de Ryswick. Après avoir donné des nouvelles de différents pays, il ajoute :

“ Je parts pour aller à La Haye faire une fonction considérable qui est de déclarer en présence des députés des Etats Généraux au ministre de Suède en qualité de médiateur les articles préliminaires de la paix que j'ay traités et réglés icy au nom du Roy avec les députés des Etats Généraux, et pour avoir communication par les mains du mesme médiateur du plein pouvoir de l'Empereur et luy communiquer en mesme temps celuy dont le Roy m'a honoré. Apres quoy l'on me doit remettre les passeports de Mess^{rs} les Etats Généraux pour messieurs de Harlai et de Crécy pour venir icy à Delft et j'espère qu'ils arriveront aussytost que cette lettre par le moyen d'un expres que je dépescheray demain pour rejoindre l'ordinaire qui part ce soir de cette ville.

“ Je vous écris, Madame, cette nouvelle par avance parceque je ne suis pas sûr d'avoir le temps de vous la mander à mon retour de La Haye, à cause du compte que j'auray à rendre au Roy de ce qui s'y sera passé sur cette démarche que l'on regarde icy comme un grand acheminement à la paix générale, parceque les articles préliminaires qui sont enfin ajustés après un très grand nombre de difficultés sont le fondement des principaux articles de la paix avec tous les alliés.”¹

Et à son retour de La Haye, M. de Callières trouva en dépit du compte-rendu qu'il avait à faire pour le roi, le temps de mettre le postscriptum suivant :

“ P.S. J'arrive de La Haye. Tout s'y est bien passé. Les articles préliminaires sont concluds et entre les mains du médiateur et j'auray demain les passeports des Etats Généraux. Ce sont deux grands pas pour la conclusion du grand oeuvre.”

On voit par cette lettre que Madame d'Huxelles pouvait être bien informée. Or, Monsieur de Callières n'était pas le seul à lui faire tenir des nouvelles. M. de Briord qui fut, lui aussi, l'un des diplomates les plus actifs de Louis XIV, la tenait au courant. Elle le déclare elle-même lorsque, cet ambassadeur étant tombé malade en 1701, elle transmet la nouvelle de cette maladie à M. de La Garde. “ Ne serez vous pas, lui écrit-elle, affligé de l'extrême accident arrivé à M^r de Briord? Quant à moy j'en suis dans une grande et douloureuse peine. Nous vivons en grand commerce depuis 30 ans sans aucune interruption, car en France, en Piémont et en Hollande ç'a toujours été la même chose de confiance et d'amitié.”² Enfin il ne faut pas oublier que Madame d'Huxelles a été fort liée avec M. de Pomponne et, par lui, avec les Torcy. On voit qu'elle pouvait sur les affaires extérieures se renseigner en bonne place. Mais il y aurait peut-être quelque danger à ne connaître les affaires publiques que par les diplomates français. Il n'est pas mauvais d'entendre le son de la cloche opposée. Madame d'Huxelles l'a-t-elle fait? Il n'est pas possible de le dire avec certitude mais quelques renseignements dispersés dans sa correspondance nous montre tout au moins qu'elle était en

¹ MS. French 96, fo 139 vo-140.

² *Ibid.*, 93, fo 232.

position de le faire. Elle écrit en effet le 14 février 1689 : " Je vous envoie la gazette de France pour celles [les nouvelles] d'Angleterre et le billet que je viens de recevoir de l'envoyé de Modène ¹ qui vous apprendra ce qui s'est passé. . . ." ² Et le 1^{er} juillet de la même année : " Je vous envoie, Monsieur, mieux que ce qui vient de mon cru par la lettre de M^r de Jussac et la nouvelle du correspondant d'Hollande dont l'ambassadeur de Venise d'à présent m'a promis de me faire part chaque semaine. . . ." ³ D'ailleurs un billet d'une écriture italienne et qui se date de 1686 nous montre que les relations de Madame d'Huxelles avec certains membres du corps diplomatique étranger étaient assez intimes. Ce billet est daté simplement " Ce samedi au soir " et s'exprime ainsi :

" Je suis chargé de Mons^r l'Ambassadeur de vous faire part, Madame, du peu de nouvelles que l'on a eu de Bude, qui sont qu'après l'assault général du 3 Aoust, l'on avoit fait une simple tentative de se loger plus avant sur le chasteau, mais sans succez, n'ayant pas réussi les fourneaux que l'on avoit fait jouer pour cela de manière que les Imperiaux furent repoussez avec perte de 30 à 40 hommes. M^r le Duc [de] Bavière y eut un coup de flesche dans son chapeau.

Quant au secours, l'on assure qu'il y avoit de troupes en marche du costé du Pont d'Essech ⁴ mais l'on n'en avoit pas pu scavoir le nombre. Il y a qui dit que sont 30^m, autres 40^m hommes et qui plus, qui moins.

M^r de Lorraine a fait faire des lignes de contravallation par précaution et un campement de ses troupes sur deux lignes pour recevoir l'ennemi s'il s'approche. Cependant on travailloit toujours peu ou prou au siège, continuant les Turcs à se bien deffendre. M^r le Comte de Locovicz die qu'il attend un courrier dans trois ou quatre jours et que, s'il ne vient pas, ce sera une marque que les affaires ne vont pas bien.

M^r l'Ambassadeur estoit incertain de pouvoir avoir l'honneur de vous voir ce soir, Madame. Il croyoit pourtant de pouvoir dérober un moment pour cela ; mais, pour le plus seur, je croy, quant a moy, qu'il ne faut plus l'attendre.

J'oubliois a vous dire, Madame, que la date des lettres de Bude est du 7 et de celles de Vienne du 11. Je suis avec tout le respect possible, Madame, entièrement à vous." ⁵

En ce qui concerne les affaires intérieures les relations nombreuses et haut placées de Madame d'Huxelles étaient à même de les lui apprendre.

¹ L'abbé Ruzzini.

² MS. *French* 89, fo 35.

³ *Ibid.*, 139. Il faut rapprocher cette indication d'un passage d'une lettre de Madame de Sévigné à sa fille en date du 26 Octobre, 1688, et où, parlant de la correspondance de Madame d'Huxelles et de M. de la Garde, elle ajoute : " elle [M^e d'Huxelles] a les lettres qu'on écrit à l'ambassadeur de Venise, et ces lettres sont admirables " (éd. Monmerqué, t. VIII, p. 228).

⁴ Eszek, dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes.

⁵ MS. *French* 96, fo 189.

On pourrait multiplier les exemples mais, pour ne pas encombrer indéfiniment cet article, nous nous bornerons à reproduire un court billet daté "A Versailles ce 5^e de Mars [1689]" et qui nous montre quels informateurs Madame d'Huxelles avait à la cour :

"Me voicy de retour de Marli et la parole me revient pour vous rendre mes devoirs comme à la première des Dames que j'honore avec beaucoup d'attachement.

On a ü dans ce voyage les agrémens du tems qui commence à faire voir que les avant coureurs du Printems ne sont pas loin. Les divertissemens de la chasse ont esté à l'ordinaire. Vostre amy, M le Duc de La Rochefoucaut a pris jusqu'à trois cerfs en un jour. Le Roy a veu voler les oiseaux et a tiré devant ses chiens. Monseigneur a trouvé buisson creux pour les loups, et après tous ces exercices le Roy s'est fort occupé au jeu des portiques pour lequel il témoigne avoir quelque penchant. Les seigneurs estoient à un bout, les Dames à l'autre; et le contoir des plus riches banquiers ne montre point un commerce si actif que celui des courtizans qui vuide ou remplit ses mains, del'or qu'il perd ou qu'il gagne à ce jeu la. Le Roy après diné pour finir avec honneur a gagné deux mille sept cent pistoles pour luy et ses banquiers, dont la troupe estoit composée de Mgr. le Prince, de M. le Comte d'Auvergne, de M. le Comte de Lauzun et de M. Dangeau. Il est vray que cette mesme société en perdit hyer dix-sept cent. Cela s'appelle "los va y vienes de la fortuna." Cependant que S. M. s'occupoit à autre chose, les seigneurs ont joué un grand jeu au Lansquenet. M. de Vendosme en est sur le coté, M. de Lauzun tant soit peu blessé, M. d'Aubigny assez mal traité, et ainsy du reste. Enfin les Louys d'or ont fort roulé et il ne paroist pas parmy ces messieurs-là qu'il y ait des malheureux dans le Royaume, car les poignées d'argent ne leur couste rien à repandre et il semble qu'ils puisent en pleine source.

Le Roy est allé ce soir rendre une visite à la Reyne d'Angleterre ou Monsieur fut dès hyer.

On dit que seurement M. de Schomberg s'en va en Irlande et qu'il a esté fait grand M^e de l'Artillerie. Le P. d'Orange renvoÿe en Hollande huit mille hommes.

Le Roy d'Angre arrive aujourdhuy à Brest où il s'embarquera tout au plus vite afin de passer en Irlande devant que les revoltex en ayent connoissance.

Le mariage du fils de M. de Duras avec M^{lle} de La Mark conclu et les anicroches de celui de M^{lle} de Coislin causées par la malhonneteté de son frère sert de matière aux conversations. L'on dit que le premier est un mariage de dépit.

Bonsoir, Madame. Dieu vous conserve et vous fasse passer le Karesme dans la bonne santé que vous meritez, exemte de toutes les vapeurs qui naissent es jours maigres."¹

Nous ne savons qui était ce correspondant mais le fait qu'il était admis aux Marlis nous indique pour le moins qu'il était bien en cour. Le même personnage, dans un billet daté du jour suivant, nous fournit une autre indication

¹ MS. *French* 89, fo 67.

par laquelle nous terminerons nos remarques sur l'information de Madame d'Huxelles. Il lui pose en effet la question suivante : "Est-il vray que le Prince de Lorraine vient commander sur le Rhin et que le Roy a fait dire à tous les officiers de ses armées que tous ceux qui voudront aller en Irlande recevront six mois d'avance de leur paye et quatre cent francs pour leur voyage?"¹ Ceci nous prouve qu'un seigneur de la cour, assez bien vu pour être invité à Marly, n'hésitait pas à se renseigner auprès de la marquise d'Huxelles, et nous donne une idée de l'opinion qu'avaient les contemporains de l'information de celle-ci.

Ce témoignage a quelque intérêt parceque, précisément, les nouvelles de Madame d'Huxelles sont venues jusqu'à nous avec une mauvaise réputation. Madame de Sévigné a en effet critiqué la façon de renseigner qu'avait la marquise d'Huxelles : "La marquise reprend tous les ordinaires les nouvelles qu'elle a mandées : appelle-t-on cela savoir tout ce qui se passe? Je hais ce qui est faux."² Or, Madame de Sévigné a contribué plus que tout autre de ses contemporains à former l'opinion des siècles futurs sur les choses et les gens de son époque. Il n'est donc pas inutile de voir quelle idée Madame d'Huxelles se faisait de son rôle de gazetzière.

Notons tout d'abord qu'elle n'a jamais eu de prétentions. Nous la verrons en 1701 écrire : "J'ose faire, comme si je faisais des merveilles quant à la continuation de mes mauvaises gazettes. Ce n'est pas que je me cuide sur les louanges que m'en donne l'incomparable chevalier,³ mais c'est que je veux toujours tenir à Monsieur de La Garde par quelque chose."⁴ Dira-t-on que c'est fausse humilité? Nous répondrons qu'en tous cas nous n'avons pas rencontré dans les huit volumes que nous avons parcourus de passage où la marquise tire vanité de ses gazettes.

Elle avait seulement le défaut, grave aux yeux de certains, de reconnaître ses erreurs. On le voit par le début de ce billet autographe daté du 25 janvier [1689] :

Je m'abandonné hier à la conduite du secrétaire, parceque Madame de Moucy vint, qui me fit quiter mes escritures. J'ay bien peur, Monsieur, qu'il n'y ait eu de la confusion dans ce que vous aurez reçu. Il y a mesme des endroits sur quoy je me retracte, ayant appris hier au soir qu'on m'avoit mal dit les nouvelles d'abord. Enfin vostre charité supléra et, pourvue que ce coadjuteur⁵ n'ait pas esté à La Garde ce dernier ordinaire, il me suffit. Je l'y

¹ MS. *French* 89, fo 69.

² éd. Monmerqué, t. VIII, p. 411.

³ Joseph Adhemar, dit le chevalier de Grignan, un des frères du comte de Grignan.

⁴ MS. *French* 93, fo 92 v^o.

⁵ Il s'agit d'un frère du comte de Grignan, Jean Baptiste Adhemar de Monteil qui était coadjuteur de son oncle l'archevêque d'Arles. Il succéda à ce dernier la même année.

souhaite aus bons pour luy faire voir combien il a de tort de me prefférer des amyes quand il est icy moins régulière que moy. Cependant parlons de vostre santé. Je me resjouis au delà de ce qui se peut imaginer que vous n'ayes esté qu'aus portes de la mort et je vous conjure de ne pas songer de long-temps à passer outre, ne vous plaignant ny ma peine ny mon papier. Humectes vous et demeurez saint, sy le remède raccommode vostre constitution dessechée et que le bon dieu vous favorise toujours de ses grâces. Vous estes plus heureux que tous les potentats de l'Europe ensemble et j'en auray une satisfaction extrême ne pouvant cesser de vous honorer.

On doit jouer ce soir à St. Cir, ou dans le salon du Roy à Versaille, la comédie d'Esther et du Roy Assuerus faite par Racine, sans passion amoureuse, pour les petites filles qui en sont les actrices. Ma mère se porte mieux. Le Roy a respondu aus excuses de M^e d'Aguesseau pour Mr. son mari que personne n'iroit en sa place en Dauphiné, et qu'on attendroit qu'il fût guéri."¹

Cette conscience dans l'information qui lui valait les reproches de Madame de Sévigné doit au contraire lui être compté comme un mérite. Elle indiquait d'ailleurs parfois que ses nouvelles ne devaient être acceptées qu'à titre provisoire, comme cette liste des seigneurs tués devant Philippsbourg que, dans sa lettre du 21 Novembre 1703, elle fait suivre de ces mots : "Je souhaite d'avoir à ressusciter l'ordinaire prochain ceux qui n'auront pas peut-estre esté tué en cette dernière bataille."² Parfois aussi elle arrivait à rattraper ses nouvelles à temps. Le 22 Janvier 1699 elle rapporte à son correspondant un bruit d'après laquelle les ambassadeurs du roi demanderaient leur rappel, particulièrement l'ambassadeur du roi en Danemarck, M. de Chamilly, à cause des dépenses que leur occasionnait leur mission. Puis, ayant voulu en avoir le cœur net, elle se renseigne de nouveau et ajoute le post-scriptum suivant : "Je viens de la source pour les ambassadeurs. Ils ne demandent point à revenir, Mr. de Chamilly surtout."³

On voit donc que les critiques de Madame de Sévigné ne portent pas et que Madame d'Huxelles est honnête au risque de paraître se contredire. Comme elle s'en vantait à M. de La Garde dans une lettre du 6 Mars [1697] : "Pendant que j'auray l'honneur d'estre vostre gazetiere vous pouvez compter que le faux sera redressé."⁴

Mais il ne suffit pas d'avoir des nouvelles exactes, il est nécessaire aussi, quand on se pique de renseigner autrui, de n'avoir point trop de préjugés ou de parti-pris. Madame d'Huxelles a-t-elle suivi l'exemple de ses contemporains et sa correspondance nous montrera-t-elle seulement les beaux côtés du règne de Louis XIV avec, pour les ombres au tableau, une explication favorable au roi? Sa position est aisée à définir. Nous avons vu, et Saint Simon nous le dit, qu'elle n'était pas de la cour. C'était d'autre part une

¹ MS. French 96, fo 237.

² *Ibid.*, 94, fo 224.

³ *Ibid.*, 92, fo 198 vo.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 96, fo 4 vo.

grande dame et l'on ne saurait naturellement trouver chez elle des sentiments annonciateurs de la Révolution Française. Mais cette grande dame était née petite bourgeoise, fille de parlementaire. Elle avait jeté son feu pendant la régence d'Anne d'Autriche, en un temps où la royauté n'avait pas tout couvert de son ombre et où, pour le plus grand malheur du royaume, il y avait encore un semblant d'indépendance dans la noblesse. Madame d'Huxelles ne jugera pas son roi ; elle nous informera avec conscience de ses mouvements et de ses paroles, mais elle nous laissera voir que tout n'était pas admirable sous le Roi-Soleil et que la splendeur apparente du règne ne doit pas empêcher d'en voir toutes les misères sordides.¹ Ajoutez à cela qu'elle prend des précautions. Elle ne signe rien, pas même ses lettres autographes.² Elle demande même dans certains cas que l'on brûle certains des documents qu'elle envoie.³ Car elle a ce mérite de fournir au besoin ses sources et c'est par quelques un de ces documents conservés par hasard que nous pouvons juger de son information. Il ne faut pas oublier que Madame d'Huxelles a été mêlée à la conspiration de Fouquet et que par conséquent elle n'aura pas pour Louis XIV l'idolâtrie de telle de ses contemporaines. On a la preuve de ces sentiments dans sa volonté de rester éloignée de la cour où elle eût été fort bien reçue pourtant. La lettre suivante nous montre quelle était son attitude :

le 13^e juillet [1695]

Vous me mettez au désespoir, Monsieur, d'affliger vos yeux pour l'amour de moy. Je renonce à vos faveurs et n'en veux recevoir que de l'illustre Marquise de Sévigné. De nostre temps les femmes demeuroient dans une certaine sphère et c'étoient les hommes qui courroient la poste et se mesloient des affaires de la cour. Tout cela a changé. M^e la M^e de Lorge a voulu aller, à bonne intention celle cy,⁴ car hors le bel air je pense qu'il y en a d'autres qui ne vont pas sy purement. On ne dit point encore quand elle

¹ Par exemple sur la dépopulation (MS. *French* 90, f^o 285), sur la crise du logement (MS. *French* 92, f^o 158), et d'innombrables références à la famine et à la maladie.

² On trouvera reproduit ici un feuillet d'une de ces lettres autographes emprunté au manuscrit *French* 96, f^o 166, la lettre est du 15 Décembre, 1695.

³ Le 16 Septembre 1689 elle demande de brûler une lettre de M^r de Jussac transmise par elle (MS. *French* 89, f^o 229), le 18 mars de la même année elle ordonne de brûler "la lettre de Versaille" (*ibidem*, f^o 79). Même injonction ajoutée à une lettre du 19 May 1697 qui pourrait être de M^r de Briord (MS. *French* 91, f^o 248). Certains des documents mentionnés par elle ne se retrouvent pas et ont dû subir le même sort, telle, par exemple, la "feuille secrète" dont il est question à diverses reprises. (MS. *French* 89, f^o 156^{bis} ; etc.).

⁴ Le maréchal de Lorge étant tombé malade à la tête de son armée à Unter Neisheim, sa femme obtint du roi de l'aller soigner et le ramena à Vichy (Saint Simon, éd de Boislisle, t. II, pp. 292 *sqq.*).

reviendra ny sy elle ramènera Mr son mari. Quand à moy je ne scay que ce qu'il se desbite le soir dans ma maison, mais M^e de S[ain]t Germain¹ est de cette cour et de la dévotion de M^e de Frémont.² Mr. de Rouville,³ devant qui je reçus hier, vostre lettre du 7, vous fait mille compliments, autant à Mr le chevalier.⁴ Quand aus dames, il dit qu'il est un trop vieux penart et que ce seroit blesser leur imagination. Il se sent de la faveur de Mr de la Rochefoucauld qui luy a envoyé de son bon vin de champagne. Vous estes trop loin pour vous sentir de quelque chose à l'extérieur, mais il ne s'en passe pas moins dans son cœur. Mr d'Ambres⁵ me raporta l'autre jour de sa part ce qu'il avoit veu de distinction dans les jardins de Trianon de celle de M^e de Maintenon. J'admiray et me retourné sur le champ du costé des beautés célestes où tout est admis sans acception de personne. Sy ma voisine et sa fille⁶ sont admises au voiage de Marli, mon Dieu qu'elles seront aises, car il y a longtemps qu'elles soupirent après inutilement ! Réfléchissant souven sur ma vie passée, je ne m'estonne qu'elle se soit escoulée sans avoir eu part aus avantages de la cour. Je suis trop libertine et esloignée de l'engouement de ces choses, mais à présent comment peut-on à certains aages y estre sy aspres. Il faut faire pénitence. La fait on, suivant tous les pères, avec de l'ambition, de la bonne chère et une dissipation continuelle ? Je trouve que non dans la tradition de l'église⁷ dont je dois la lecture aussy bien que de la fréquente communion⁸ au conseil de feu M^{lle} de Vertu.⁹ Je lis encore le nouveau Testament du père Quesnel¹⁰ où je le trouve despeint quand il dit sur St. Paul aux Galattes, chapitre 3, que la langue de la charité est picquante aussy bien que celle de la cupidité et que souvent on prend dans les escrits des saints pour aigreur et animosité ce qui n'est qu'un zelle vif et

¹ Agnès de Bailleul, soeur de la marquise d'Huxelles, femme de Henri Foucault, marquis de Saint Germain Beaupré.

² Geneviève Damond, femme de Nicolas de Fremont, garde du Trésor Royal et marquis de Rosay, belle-mère du maréchal de Lorge.

³ Louis, marquis de Rouville, gouverneur de Fort Louis.

⁴ Joseph Adhemar de Monteil, dit le chevalier de Grignan, frère du comte de Grignan.

⁵ François de Gelas de Voisins, marquis d'Ambres, un des vieux amis de Madame d'Huxelles qui, écrit elle en 1699 "vient dormir les soirs céans et, entre deux sommeils, admirer les changements de scene" (MS. French 92, fo 337 v^o). Il renseignait aussi la marquise comme en témoigne un billet adressée par lui à celle ci sur l'affaire de Crémone (MS. French 94, fo 33).

⁶ J'ignore de qui il s'agit.

⁷ *Tradition de l'Eglise touchant l'Eucharistie recueillie des saints pères et autres auteurs ecclésiastiques divisée en cinquante deux offices*, Paris, 1661, in-8^o.

⁸ C'est le traité célèbre d'Antoine Arnauld : *De la fréquente communion*, Paris, 1643, in-4^o.

⁹ Catherine Françoise de Bretagne de Vertus, soeur de Madame de Montbazon, mourut le 21 Novembre 1692 à Port Royal où elle s'était retirée plus de vingt ans auparavant.

¹⁰ *Le nouveau Testament en françois avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset*, Paris, 1693, in 8^o.

animé de la vérité. Mais le monde n'entends point se (*sic*) langage et y donne une explication contraire. Comme je ne suis pas dans l'élévation où vous estes, j'ay besoin de secours moins sérieux par d'autres lectures et je sorts aussy d'une vie du cardinal de Richelieu imprimée a Colongne,¹ que je vous souhaiterois, qui m'a fait grand plaisir. Il faut aimer l'histoire, que j'aime dès ma plus tendre enfance. Cependant, Monsieur, j'ay peur d'avoir poussé l'entretien trop loin. Excuses à vostre tour mes fautes, s'il y en a, à ne pouvoir oublier ses amis et à se reprendre où l'on peut les attraper. Il me semble que c'estoit se moquer que de vous envoyer les nouvelles de vostre, costé, mais la feuille est circulaire et va vers l'occéan comme la mediterrannée. Il m'a esté dit que Mr de Paris² ayant leu à l'assemblée la lettre de Mr de Pontchartrain qui luy donnoit advis de la nouvelle grâce du Roy, aucuns des preslats avoient respondu que c'estoit le fruit du don gratuit et de la capitation. Je m'en reporte, mais il y a eu beaucoup d'altercation."³

Et ce n'était pas de vaines paroles car sa vie toute entière nous montre que l'indépendance fut de tout temps ce qu'elle chercha. Cela donne évidemment à sa correspondance un intérêt historique véritable.

De quoi y parle-t-elle? De tout : du petit potin de cour jusqu'à la nouvelle politique sensationnelle, des chansons de M. de Coulanges jusqu'aux oeuvres de Madame Guyon. Tout cela est un peu jeté en désordre. Évidemment, elle reçoit ses nouvelles et, quand elle en a un certain nombre et que le jour de l'ordinaire approche, elle les dicte à son secretaire ou les transcrit elle même. Cela fait un mélange, qui n'est pas sans charme, de nouvelles d'un intérêt purement personnel et de renseignements d'une valeur incontestable pour l'histoire de son temps. On trouvera plus loin en appendice ce qui nous a été conservé des gazettes de janvier 1689 et cela permettra de voir ce que contiennent ces gazettes.

Nous avons choisi le premier mois de cette année 1689 parceque c'est celui où arrive en France le roi Jacques II d'Angleterre et que les événements de la révolution d'Angleterre prennent dans la correspondance de Madame d'Huxelles la place qu'ils eurent alors dans les affaires européennes. C'est aussi un moment où de grands événements se préparent. La guerre de la ligne d'Augsbourg va mettre face à face Louis XIV et l'Europe. Les nouvelles sont nombreuses, vraies ou fausses. Madame d'Huxelles les recueille et les transmet. Quand leur fausseté lui est démontrée elle se rétracte et, par exemple, le début de sa lettre du 25 janvier est une série de démentis des nouvelles données par les gazettes précédentes. Mais ces fausses nouvelles ont leur intérêt puisque, nous le savons maintenant, les

¹ [J. Le Clerc.] *Vie d'A. J. Cardinal de Richelieu*, Cologne, 1692 in-12.

² François de Harlay de Champvallon, archevêque de Paris, président de l'assemblée du Clergé en 1695, mourut la même année.

³ M.S. *French* 96, ff. 230-232 v^o.

nouvelles de ce genre contribuent pour au moins autant que celles qui sont vraies à former l'opinion du public et même des gouvernements.

Dans cette publication des nouvelles de janvier 1689 nous n'avons nullement prétendu donner un modèle à l'éditeur futur des lettres de Madame d'Huxelles mais simplement donner un exemple de la richesse, et nous ajoutons de la sûreté, d'information de la marquise d'Huxelles.

Cet exemple permettra aussi de voir qu'il y a dans la correspondance objet de notre étude autre chose qu'un élément purement historique. Madame d'Huxelles ne craint pas de parler d'elle-même, une partie de la gazette est en réalité une véritable lettre. Et comme si cela n'était pas suffisant, il y a dans ces manuscrits de Manchester les lettres autographes (particulièrement dans le MS. *French* 96) et les lettres purement personnelles encore que dictées. Par elle nous pénétrons dans l'intimité de la marquise et aussi dans le cercle des Grignan et dans celui de Madame de Sévigné. C'est ce qui donne à cette correspondance un intérêt spécial; la marquise de Sévigné ayant charmé non seulement ses contemporains mais aussi la postérité, ce qu'elle touche de près ou de loin prend tout de suite une certaine valeur.

Et, disons le tout de suite, nous ne trouvons pas dans la correspondance de la marquise d'Huxelles la moindre acrimonie contre Madame de Sévigné dont le talent et la personne sont mis très haut par Madame d'Huxelles, et le chagrin que causa à cette dernière la mort de sa vieille amie éclate dans la partie de la gazette du 2 Mai 1696 consacrée aux affaires personnelles :

"J'ose, Monsieur, vous supplier de faire mes très humbles compliments à M^r de Carcassonne.¹ Je vous les renouvelle encore comme à toute l'illustre maison. Nous ne saurions trop entendre parler de la pauvre M^e de Sévigné, et ce qu'il faut conclure de la dernière lettre dont vous m'avez honorée, c'est qu'elle avoit à mourir et qu'elle est mieux par une si louable mort que ceux qui la pleurent. J'ay donné votre récit à M^e de St. Germain pour M^e de Chaulne² qui m'en a priée. C'est à dire que je l'ay abandonné à la discrétion de ma sœur, afin de n'estre pas blasmée si, en renouvelant les douleurs de cette bonne duchesse, je renouvelle aussy ses maux. Je suis fort en peine de ceux de M^r l'Archevesque d'Arles.³ Je vas à l'hostel de Carnavalet où l'on m'a dit que M^r de Sévigné⁴ est arrivé. J'eus l'honneur de voir hier chez M^r le Lieutenant Civil,⁵ M^r le marquis de Grignan⁶ en équipage digne du

¹ Louis Joseph Adhemar de Monteil, évêque de Carcassonne.

² La duchesse de Chaulnes, femme du gouverneur de Bretagne, la grande amie de Madame de Sévigné.

³ Jean Baptiste Adhemar de Monteil, archevêque d'Arles.

⁴ Charles de Sévigné, le fils de la marquise de Sévigné.

⁵ Jean Le Camus, lieutenant civil au Châtelet de Paris.

⁶ Louis Provence Adhemar de Monteil, marquis de Grignan, le petit fils de Madame de Sévigné.

beau père.¹ J'étois allé voir nostre magistrat que je trouvé bien jaune et avec un gros rume, n'ayant point encore fait de remèdes. Il m'a mandé ce matin qu'il avoit fallu se faire seigner. Mr de Mirabaut² y estoit encore hier. Enfin nous ne parlasmes que de la pauvre M^e de Sévigné toujours dans mon esprit. Vous n'en sortez non plus, Monsieur, et vous avez la part dans mon cœur qu'un amy de vostre mérite y doit occuper, trop heureuse que vous vouliez bien l'y prendre. Conservez moi donc toujours l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces."³

Madame d'Huxelles n'a donc pas gardé rancune à Madame de Sévigné de ses critiques. Elle a eu pour la marquise une affection profonde et sincère qu'elle a reportée sur la fille et la petite fille de celle-ci. Madame de Grignan et Madame de Simiane apparaissent à tout instant dans ses lettres, et montre par là que le souvenir de Madame de Sévigné ne d'effaça point de l'esprit de la marquise d'Huxelles.

C'est évidemment dans ces morceaux ou ces lettres d'un caractère plus personnel qu'il faut juger Madame d'Huxelles comme écrivain. M. de Loye déclarait qu'elle n'était point femme de lettres. Si par là il entendait qu'elle écrivait mal, il avait tort. Sans doute on ne saurait mettre Madame d'Huxelles au niveau de la marquise de Sévigné. Elle écrivait avec beaucoup moins de souci du style que la marquise, mais elle écrivait à une époque où la langue française avait une vigueur jamais égalée depuis, elle avait de l'intelligence naturelle, du goût, de la lecture et le résultat est que son style est fort loin d'être sans charme. Nous en avons déjà cité quelques exemples, on pourrait les multiplier. Bornons nous à reproduire ce billet d'une allure vive et qui nous donne en même temps une idée de l'intimité de Madame d'Huxelles avec la famille de Grignan :

Le 21^e Aoust.

Je suis très contente des trois illustres frères : la grossièreté du comte⁴ me plaist ; j'aime que le Coadjuteur fasse comme l'Archevêque de Rouen⁵ et que Mr de Carcassonne déroge en ma faveur de son caractère.

Mille⁶ très humbles grâces de tant d'honnesteté

Tous mes sens en sont enchantés.

¹ Arnaud de Saint Amans, fermier général dont la fille, Anne Marguerite, avait épousé le marquis de Grignan. C'est à l'occasion de ce mariage que Madame de Grignan "en faisoit des excuses, et, avec ses minauderies en radoucissant ses petits yeux, disoit qu'il falloit bien de temps en temps du fumier sur les meilleures terres" (Saint Simon, éd. de Boislisle, t. XII, p. 289).

² Probablement Thomas Riqueti de Mirabaud qui mourut commandeur de Malte.

³ MS. *French* 91, fo 49 v^o-50 v^o.

⁴ Le comte de Grignan, gendre de Madame de Sévigné.

⁵ Je n'ai pas réussi à comprendre l'allusion.

⁶ Il faut lire : mil.

Il n'y a que Mr de Rouville qui soit fasché de ne s'estre point trouvé dans les délices de Grignan. Il en dira deux mots à Mr de Canaples.¹

Enfin ce qui fait l'intérêt de cette partie purement personnelle de la correspondance de la marquise d'Huxelles, c'est que celle-ci nous y apparait vivante, avec ses qualités et ses faiblesses et que, la connaissant, nous pouvons mieux estimer la valeur historique de son témoignage.

C'est une bourgeoise devenue grande dame qui, après avoir beaucoup aimé, n'a plus voulu aimer que Dieu. Ayant eu une jeunesse fort gaie, elle conserve un caractère gai dans un âge mur et une vicillesse accablée de soucis et d'infirmités. Elle est une femme de la Fronde—beaucoup plus que du siècle de Louis XIV. Elle voit les misères de celui-ci et elle en apprécie pourtant la grandeur. Elle n'est d'aucun parti à la cour, et n'a pas d'ambition personnelle. Entre la platitude écœurante d'un Dangeau et la bile toujours en mouvement du génial Saint Simon, son témoignage, auquel ressemble seul celui du marquis de Sourches, vaut d'être considéré et étudié parce qu'il est impartial tout en restant humain.

APPENDICE.

LA GAZETTE DE MADAME D'HUXELLES PENDANT LE MOIS DE JANVIER DE L'ANNÉE 1689.²

Du 4^e Janvier 1689.

Il n'y a rien de seur du dedans d'Ang^{re}. On ne croit point que le p. d'Orange soit à St. James et le Roy a dit avant hier à son lever entre fort peu de personnes, dont une l'a redit, qu'il pouvoit bien être que la nouvelle apportée à la Reine d'Ang^{re} par un frère du vice amiral Strikland, qui dit que le Roy d'Ang^{re} a été arrêté à Faversham et le reste étoit adouci pour luy donner du repos. S.M. ajouta que les expressions douloureuses et honnestes de cette princesse dans la lettre qu'elle luy écrivoit l'avoient pénétré de douleur. Mr le Grand³ est allé à Beaumont⁴ luy faire le compliment de cérémonie. St. Germain sera le lieu de son séjour à la place de Vincennes.

Mr de Lauzun arriva hier. Il descendit chez Mr de Seignelay qui en vint avertir le Roy. Ensuite il l'alla quérir et l'amena par le petit degré.

¹ MS. *French* 96, fo 229. Cette lettre se date entre 1681 et 1689.

² L'Annotation des gazettes de Janvier 1689 a été réduite au stricte minimum. On s'y est interdit toute critique et même tout rapprochement, en se bornant à identifier ou à éclaircir les noms propres contenus dans les gazettes. MS. *French* 89, ff. 1-23 v^o.

³ Louis de Lorraine, comte d'Armagnac, grand écuyer de France.

⁴ Probablement Beaumont-sur-Oise (Seine-et-Oise, Arr^t de Pontoise).

Monsieur, qui étoit avec Sa Maté, vint au devant de luy. Cependant le Roy qui avoit passé dans la chambre du Conseil l'y fit entrer, et luy dit : " on est bien aise de vous voir en ce pays." Mr de Lauzun s'étoit jetté à ses genoux. S.M. le retint en particulier et luy parla plus d'une heure. Il est retourné aujourd'huy près de la Reine d'Ang^{re} qu'on attend Jeudy au plus tard. Elle a fait prier le Roy de trouver bon qu'elle ne vit icy que la maison Royale.

Le vice amiral Strikland¹ est arrivé à Calais avec tous les officiers catholiques de la flotte, Milord Darmouth² les ayant chassés. Comme il leur a donné un vaisseau pour se retirer, on croit que son intention n'a pas été mauvaise.

Nulles nouvelles ne se savent de Mr de Barillon.³ On en attend demain par la Hollande. Le p. d'Orange demande aux états trois commissaires dont d'Odik⁴ est avec deux autres de ses créatures pour conférer avec eux sur les affaires présentes. Il les prie encore de luy envoyer des vivres et de luy laisser pour deux mois les troupes et les vaisseaux de l'état.

Il court un bruit que Mr le Cardinal de Fustemberg⁵ veut renoncer à l'électorat de Cologne, remettant au Pape d'examiner son droit, et qu'il veut aussy se retirer à Strasbourg pour faire voir à tout l'univers qu'il seroit bien fâché de continuer d'être la cause de tant de désordres.

Il se dit que Mr de Luxembourg va commander en Guienne, que le parlement revient à Bordeaux⁶ et que Mr de Seignelai part dans huit jours pour visiter les côtes.

Madame de Maisons⁷ receut hier une lettre d'une duchesse de Nortfolk⁸ qui est à Calais, à attendre des nouvelles de son père et de sa mere, la lettre en anglois pour la faire tenir seurement à Madame la marquise de Powis.⁹ Elle porte qu'un Jésuite, s'étant sauvé dessus une petite barque heureusement arrivée à un de nos ports, assure que le Roy d'Ang^{re} a disparu une seconde

¹ L'amiral Sir Roger Strickland.

² Georges Legge, Lord Dartmouth, amiral de la flotte anglaise.

³ Ambassadeur de France à Londres.

⁴ William Hadriaan van Nassau, seigneur d'Odijk, député de Zélande aux Etats Généraux, ami d'enfance et partisan dévoué du prince d'Orange.

⁵ Guillaume Egon, prince de Fürstenberg, cardinal évêque de Strasbourg, nommé en 1688 coadjuteur de l'archevêque de Cologne.

⁶ Le parlement de Bordeaux avait été exilé à la suite de l'insurrection de 1675.

⁷ Louise de Fieubet, femme de Jean de Longueil, marquis de Maisons, président au parlement de Paris.

⁸ C'est Lady Mary Mordaunt, fille de Henry Mordaunt, 2^e comte de Peterborough, et de Lady Penelope O'Brien. Elle avait épousé 1677 Henry Howard, 7^e duc de Norfolk dont son in conduite avec Sir John Germain l'avait séparée depuis 1685. Le divorce ne fut prononcé qu'en 1700. Elle attendit vainement son père qui fut arrêté et conduit à la Tour.

⁹ Lady Elizabeth Somerset, fille d'Edouard, 2^e marquis de Worcester, femme de William Herbert, 1^{er} marquis de Powis, gouvernante des enfants royaux d'Angleterre.

fois et que le chancelier¹ a été arrêté dans un fauxbourg de Londres où il s'étoit caché.

Mr l'evesque de Bologne² a eü le même avis.

Mr Amelot³ part demain pour aller en Suisse quoiqu'il dise. On ne laisse pas d'en espérer contentement et Stoupe⁴ le promet avec un peu de ménagement. On ne demande aux villes forestières que la neutralité.

Du 5^e.⁵

Les nouvelles viennent d'arriver que le Roy d'Angleterre a heureusement débarqué à Bologne. Je n'en scay point les circonstances. Je vous les manderay vendredi prochain.

Du 7^e Janvier, 1689.

On conta hier au disner du Roy que le Roy d'Angleterre, estant retourné à Londres envoya Milord Duras⁶ au prince d'Orange pour l'inviter de venir conférer avec luy sur les affaires présentes, afin d'y mettre ordre. Il fit arrêter ce Milord au lieu de répondre à sa proposition, mais il députa un des siens pour dire à S.M.B. qu'elle devoit s'absenter de Londres pour la seureté de sa personne et on lui proposa Amptoncour⁷; mais le Roy voulut aller à Rochester où il fut conduit avec cent gardes du prince d'Orange. Ayant esté mis dans une chambre qui avoit une fenestre du costé de la mer, il trouva l'invention d'en descendre et, jettant beaucoup d'argent à des gens en bas afin de boire à la santé du prince d'Orange, les amusant ainsy, il se jetta dans une barque longue et fit voile. Il trouva en mer un petit bastiment françois dans lequel il se mit en se nommant et il arriva au port d'Ambleteuse auprès de Bologne, mardi à cinq heures du soir, si las et si fatigué qu'il se coucha d'abord. Mr. de Louvois présenta au Roy le courrier de Mr d'Aumont,⁸ le mercredi, à la messe. Cela causa un si grand mouvement de joye en S.M. et ses courtisans que le prestre qui estoit à l'Evangile pensa quitter l'autel. S.M.B. est attendue ce soir à Versaille où elle vient tout droit en poste.

La Reine, sa femme, arriva hier. Le Roy alla au devant d'elle à une lieue de St. Germain, descendit dès qu'il la vit paroistre de loin. Quand elle le sceut, elle mit pied à terre de son costé et vint se jeter à ses genoux. Il la releva et la placea au derrière de son carosse à sa droite. On fit approcher

¹ Georges Jeffreys, chancelier d'Angleterre depuis 1685, le juge des "Assises sanglantes."

² Claude le Tonnelier de Breteuil, évêque de Boulogne.

³ Michel Jean Amelot, marquis de Gournay, ambassadeur extraordinaire en Suisse.

⁴ Pierre Stuppa, colonel des gardes suisses.

⁵ Ceci est une addition à la gazette du 4 ajoutée en post-scriptum.

⁶ Louis Duras, comte de Faversham, commandant en chef de l'armée anglaise.

⁷ Hampton-Court près de Londres.

⁸ Louis Marie Victor d'Aumont et de Rochebaron, duc d'Aumont, gouverneur de Boulogne et du Boulonnais, dans le ressort duquel avait débarqué le roi d'Angleterre.

celuy où estoit le prince de Galle pour le faire voir à S.M., mais comme il faisoit fort froid on releva la glace.¹

Mr. de Barillon n'a point de mal et n'a pas esté pillé comme l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne,² sus lequel la fureur du peuple s'est jettée à cause qu'il ne payoit point.

Le Nonce³ a pensé se sauver avec l'envoyé de Pologne.⁴ On luy tendit un piège se doutant que c'estoit luy et on envoya un protestant luy demander sa bénédiction mais il répondit qu'on le prenoit pour un autre. Il est demeuré.

La rage est si grande contre les Jésuites que l'on lève toutes les jupes des femmes à Douvre pour voir s'ils ne sont point déguisés en elles.

Mr. de Jussac⁵ rectifie cette nouvelle. Le Roy remit la Reine d'Angleterre dans son carosse mais il y entra avec Mgr. et Monsieur.

S.M. va attendre aujourd'hui le Roy d'Angleterre à St. Germain chez la Reine sa femme.

Le 7^e à minuit.⁶

Le gouvernement de Guienne a esté donné à M. de Tolose⁷ et Mr le Mareschal de Lorge⁸ commandera sous luy, comme Mr de Noailles⁹ en Languedoc sous Mr du Maine.¹⁰

Du 10 Janvier 1689.

Le Roy d'Ang^{re} arriva vendredy à six heures à St. Germain. Il vouloit venir tout droit à Versaille mais le Roy luy manda qu'il l'attendroit auprès de la Reine sa femme et qu'il auroit été plus loin au devant de luy sans l'incertitude du moment de son arrivée.

On vint dire au Roy qui se trouva le premier à St. Germain que le Roy d'Ang^{re} étoit dans la cour du château. Il quita la Reine. Les deux Roys se rencontrèrent dans la salle des gardes. Le Roy d'Ang^{re} se baissa jusqu'aux genoux du Roy, qui se baissa aussi pour le relever et après s'être fort embrassés, le Roy, luy donnant la main, l'emena dans la chambre de la Reine

¹ C'étoit encore un enfant en bas age que le Prince de Galles puisqu'il étoit né le 20 Juin, 1688.

² Don Pedro Ronquillo.

³ Ferdinand, comte d'Adda.

⁴ Ceci doit être une erreur car il ne semble pas y avoir eu de représentant de cette cour accrédité auprès du roi d'Angleterre à cette époque.

⁵ Claude, comte de Jussac, tué à Fleurus l'année suivante, un des correspondants de Madame d'Huxelles.

⁶ Cette addition a été faite sur une feuille séparée.

⁷ Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse, fils légitimé de Louis XIV et de Madame de Montespan.

⁸ Guy de Durfort, duc de Lorge, maréchal de France, beau-père de Saint Simon.

⁹ Anne Jules de Noailles, duc de Noailles, créé maréchal de France en 1693.

¹⁰ Louis Auguste de Bourbon, duc du Maine, fils légitimé de Louis XIV et de Madame de Montespan.

d'Angre. Ensuite ils allèrent à celle du prince de Galle, et le Roy ayant encore amené le Roy D[[']Angleterre] auprès de la Reine, il s'en alla.

S.M.B. voulut le reconduire, mais S.M. l'en empescha, luy disant qu'il ne seroit dans sa maison que le lendemain et qu'elle le prioit de s'aller reposer. Ce lendemain, qui étoit avant hier, S.M.B. est allée à Versaille. Le Roy vint au devant d'elle jusqu'au haut du degré. Elle a veu Mgr., Madame la Dauphine, Monsieur et Madame. On est après à régler les rangs. A l'égard de Mgr., le Roy d'Angre en usera comme il plaira au Roy, luy demandant seulement qu'on traite de mesme le prince de Galle. Pour les chaises à Madame la Dauphine et à Madame chez la Reine d'Angre, cela n'est pas encore décidé et le Roy dit qu'il veut leur rendre d'autant plus d'honneur qu'ils sont malheureux. Il ne se peut rien adjoindre à la magnificence et à la bonté du Roy en cette occasion. St. Germain est meublé comme Versaille. Outre les six mil pistoles que le Roy fit laisser à la Reine d'Angre le jour de son arrivée, il a envoyé dix mil autres pistoles au Roy, avec deux magnifiques toilettes, une layette pour le p. de Galle comme pour un dauphin et une infinité de linge pour les dames mesme. On parle de cinquante mil escus par mois pour le Roy d'Angre et de cinquante mil francs pour la Reine. Quand leur maison sera faite, celle du Roy se retirera.

La Reine d'Angre offre de traiter les duchesses à l'angloise ou à la françoise, c'est à dire baiser et ne point s'asseoir comme en Angre, on bien d'avoir le tabouret sans baiser.

Le Roy d'Angre dit que le p. d'Orange luy envoya dire de sortir de Londres et qu'il l'a laissé sauver, qu'il n'a point quitté ses royaumes par peur, ne la connoissant pas, mais par la crainte de voir la naissance de son fils attaquée, des testes demandées et d'être forcé de nous déclarer la guerre. Il a jetté les sceaux du Royaume dans la mer et bruslé auparavant de partir toutes les expéditions qui regardoient la convocation du parlement qu'on n'avoient point encore envoyées.

Le p. d'Orange a fermé les yeux à l'évasion du nonce qui passé sous le passeport de l'ambassadeur de Savoye.¹ Mr de Barillon a eu le sien avec un lieutenant de ses gardes pour l'escorter.

Il n'y a pas eu un homme de tué dans Londres, des chapelles seulement et des maisons de catholiques bruslées et pillées. Pour finir ce chapitre je dirai encore que tous les françois sont ravis de voir icy la maison Royale d'Angre et qu'ils secondent bien les Royales et charitables intentions de S.M.

On croit que notre paix avec le pape s'achemine aux conditions que nous céderons les franchises à la reserve des environs fort proches de la maison de l'Ambassadeur, qu'il ne sera point parlé des questions qui déplaisent en cour de Rome, que les évêques enverront leur profession de foy, moyennant quoy le St Père leur donnera des bulles, que Mr de Beauvais² aura son chapeau, que le Cardinal de Fustemberg renoncera à l'électorat de Cologne et que l'on luy donnera la coadjuterie de Liège.

Le pape presse fort l'empereur de s'accommoder avec nous. Mr de

¹ Le comte Rovero.

² Toussaint de Forbin de Janson, évêque de Beauvais depuis 1679. Il reçut la chapeau de cardinal le 13 février 1690.

Souvré¹ est dans Vienne sur sa parole et on va faire l'eschange des prisonniers qui sont à la Bastille contre luy.

Les espagnols demeurent neutres. La Reine d'Espagne² vent qu'on employe tout pour le Roy son oncle.

M^r le Mareschal de Lorge part à le fin de ce mois pour s'en aller en Guienne avec toute sa famille et compte de n'en revenir qu'au bout de six ans. Je fis ajouter à mes lettres de vendredy³ qu'il étoit lieutenant-general avec toute l'autorité et les appointemens de ce gouvernement, qui se montent à cent quatorze mil livres, sous M^r le Comte de Toloze déclaré ce matin gouverneur de cette province, mais sans jouir de rien qu'à dix huit ans.

On fait revenir M^r de Feuquieres⁴ d'Allemagne pour aller commander dans la ville de Bordeaux en qualité de gouverneur ausy.

Il n'y a encore rien pour le retour du parlement.⁵

Du 10^e au soir.⁶

M^{gr}. a fait sa visite au Roy d'Angleterre. Ils ne se sont point assis mais chez la Reine, il a eu le fauteuil.

Madame la Dauphine n'ira point à St. Germain à cause de ses indispositions. La Reine d'Angleterre la doit aller voir.

Il est bien beau d'entendre dire au Roy qu'il veut rendre plus d'honneur au Roy d'Angleterre que s'il estoit sur son throne auquel cas il s'arresteroit davantage aux formalités; et le Roy d'Angleterre est tellement pénétré de ses bontés qu'il employe toujours le mot de protection pour parler du secours qu'il recherche auprès de S.M.

Le prince d'Orange a fait entrer douze mil hommes dans Londres, poser des corps de garde partout, ce dont les bourgeois murmurent.

Il y a des Milords qui arment pour rendre le parlement libre et qui demandent que les étrangers sortent du Royaume. Ravie que. . .⁷

Du 12^e janvier 1689.

Vous verres par la liste toutes les intendances échangées.⁸

M^r de Feuquieres ne revient point d'Allemagne.

L'armée de Guienne sera de vingt-cinq mil hommes et celle de France qui campera au chasteau du loir⁹ pour aller au plus pressé d'autant. Je croiz que le prince d'Orange ne pourra pas nous faire de mal nonobstant son envye.

¹ Louis Nicolas Le Tellier, marquis de Souvré, second fils de Louvois.

² Marie Louise d'Orléans, fille de Monsieur, frère de Louis XIV, et de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre, et femme du roi d'Espagne Charles II. Elle mourut l'année suivante.

³ C'est lundi qu'il faut lire. Voir l'addition du 7 janvier à minuit, *supra*, p. 527.

⁴ Antoine de Pas, marquis de Feuquierès.

⁵ De Bordeaux. Voir la gazette du 4 janvier, *supra*, p. 525.

⁶ Long post-scriptum à la gazette du 10.

⁷ La suite, qui manque, devait contenir uniquement des compliments.

⁸ Cette liste se retrouve dans le manuscrit *French* 96, fo 207.

⁹ C'est probablement Villebon (Eure et Loir, Arr^t. Nogent-le-Rotrou).

Il a fait entrer douze mil hommes dans Londres et poser des corps de garde partout. Il a mis deux mil hommes dans la tour¹ quoy qu'il eût promis d'en laisser le garde à l'ordinaire pour donner des marques de sa confiance. Les bourgeois en sont scandalisés entre cuir et chair.

Le Milord la Mere² arme pour la liberté du parlement et a déjà mis ensemble neuf mil hommes, ayant mandé au prince d'Orange qu'il ne désarmeroit point. Ce prince envoya dire à Mr de Barillon de sortir de Londre. L'Ambassadeur luy demanda du temps pour attendre ses ordres. Il luy remanda que s'il ne sortoit de gré, il le feroit sortir de force et il l'a fait accompagner par trente gardes hollandois jusqu'à Douvre, car Mr. de Barillon sortit et ne se le fit pas dire deux fois. On l'attendoit hier à la cour.

Vingt Milords vont quérir la princesse d'Orange.

Quand le prince d'Orange a passé en Angleterre, il avoit dans sa poche une invitation signée de tous les lords anglois. Il se fait garder avec exactitude. On fouille le monde qui l'approche et on ne luy parle que un à un. Il se fie plus à nos françois qu'à personne. L'Estant³ est son capitaine des gardes et La Melonnière⁴ ne le quitte pas.

Le Roy d'Angleterre en contant ses aventures dit qu'il luy a donné son congé par escrit et en effet, en réponse de la lettre de S.M.B. portée par Milord Duras qui offroit un abouchement, il fit escrire : "Je conseille à V.M. puisque je vas à Londre d'en sortir pour la seureté de sa personne et d'aller à Amptoncour où mes gardes la garderont plus fidèlement que les siens." Il se contenta de signer de sa main. Le Roy choisit Rochester d'où il l'a laissé sauver.

S.M.B. n'a voulu recevoir du Roy que cinquante mil francs pour sa dépense par mois et elle n'en demanderoit mesme que vingt cinq. Le Roy luy donne cinquante mil escus pour se mettre en ménage d'abord, par dessus les autres présens. Le Roy d'Angleterre a envoyé quérir à Londres ses chevaux, ses chiens et sa vaisselle d'argent.

Le comte de Gramont⁵ fait ce qu'il peut pour faire sa fille⁶ dame d'atour de la Reine d'Angleterre.

Les rangs sont réglés. Le Roy en a usé avec la plus grande honnesteté du monde et a trouvé fort mauvais que la Grande Duchesse⁷ dit que quand

¹ La Tour de Londres.

² Henry Booth, 2^e baron Delamere et 1^{er} comte de Warrington.

³ François (?) de l'Estant, ancien capitaine des gardes de Turenne, émigré à la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes.

⁴ Dangeau l'appelle La Mulonnière. Lieutenant Colonel du Régiment d'Anjou, il perdit sa charge à cause de sa religion, émigra auprès du Prince d'Orange qui lui confia en 1689 le commandement d'un de ses régiments de réfugiés français.

⁵ Philibert, comte de Gramont, le héros des mémoires célèbres dûs à la plume de son beau-frère Antoine Hamilton.

⁶ Probablement Claude Charlotte qui épousa en 1694 Henry Howard, vicomte Stafford.

⁷ Marguerite Louise d'Orleans, femme de Côme III, grand duc de Toscane.

on se sauoit chez autrui il ne falloit pas imposer des loix. Cela sur ce que la Reine D[[']Angleterre] parloit de mettre quelque différence entre Mademoiselle fille de Monsieur ¹ pour le baiser et les trois petites filles de France.² Mais elles ont esté baisées, Madame a eu une chaise et les autres des pliants, les princesses du sang de mesme et les duchesses ont aussy le tabouret mais point de baiserie.

Le Roy d'Angleterre n'a point donné chez luy la droite à Mgr. Il ne s'y assit pas la première fois. Il eust le fauteuil chez la Reine.

On ne dit plus rien de Rome, mais que les suisses ouvrent les oreilles à deux millions deux cens mil livres pour les vieux arrérages, moyennant quoy nous ferons nos levées et les villes forestières demeureront neutres.

On a mis à la bastille Lienbrune,³ neveu de feu Madame de Schomberg, accusé de commerce en Hollande.

La Breteche⁴ a pensé estre pris en Allemagne en revenant de parti, mais il s'est heureusement sauvé par des bois.

On dit que nous abandonnons Elbron⁵ après l'avoir razé.

Il me semble que M^r de Lausun ne fait plus tant de bruit et qu'on commence à dire qu'il n'a eu que du bonheur pour jouir de la gloire d'avoir sauvé la Reine d'Angleterre, le marquis de Powies ayant eu plus de part que luy.

J'oublois qu'on dit que M^r de Schomberg⁶ passe en Hollande avec la qualité du prince d'Orange, les hollandois s'estant brouillés avec le prince de Valdek pour avoir M^r de Schomberg.

Mille tendres bonsoirs, Monsieur.

Le prince d'Orange a fait ouvrir tous les ports d'Angleterre.

Du 16^e Janvier 1689.

M^r. Muisson, conseiller au Parlement, retiré en Hollande à cause de sa religion et devenu secrétaire de M^r le prince d'Orange a esté dégradé, les chambres assemblées, et condamné aus galères, ses biens confisqués.

M^r le prince d'Orange ayant fait dire à Mesdames de Mazarin⁷ et de Bouillon,⁸ à M^{rs} le comte de Roye,⁹ Ruigny,¹⁰ Cessac¹¹ et S^t Evremont qu'ils

¹ Elizabeth Charlotte, fille de Philippe d'Orleans, frère de Louis XIV, et d'Elisabeth Charlotte de Bavière.

² Anne Marie Louise d'Orleans, fille de Gaston d'Orleans, et de sa première femme Marie de Bourbon, généralement connue sous le nom de la grande Mademoiselle, et les deux filles de Gaston d'Orleans et de sa seconde femme Marguerite de Lorraine : Marguerite Louise, femme de Côme III, grand duc de Toscane, Elisabeth, veuve du duc de Guise.

³ Le dossier de ce personnage dont le nom s'écrit aussi Liembrune, se retrouve à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à Paris, ms. 10441.

⁴ Esprit de Jousseau, marquis de La Breteche.

⁵ Heilbronn.

⁶ Frédéric Armand Comte de Schönberg, maréchal de France, émigré à la suite de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes.

⁷ Hortense Mancini, duchesse de Mazarin.

⁸ Marie Anne Mancini, duchesse de Bouillon, sœur de la précédente.

⁹ Frédéric Charles de La Rochefoucauld, comte de Roye.

¹⁰ Henri de Massué, marquis de Ruigny.

¹¹ Louis Guilhem de Castelnau-Clermont-Lodève, marquis de Saissac.

pourroient demeurer en toute seureté et liberté à Londres, ils ont accepté ce parti, à la réserve de Madame de Bouillon qui a demandé un yach pour revenir.

La Reine d'Angleterre n'est pas satisfaite des deux sœurs. Elle prétend qu'elles ont esté au devant des complimens de l'Orange et que ce prince s'accommodant bien de Madame de Mazarin, elle oubliera qu'elle est sa parente.¹

On parle du retour de Cessac avec la permission du Roy, à condition d'aller demeurer à Avignon.

Tout le monde icy est charmé de la Reine d'Angleterre. On luy trouve beaucoup d'esprit. Elle est familière sans rien perdre de sa dignité, flatteuse, disant à un chacun ce qui luy convient, ses discours sont justes, à propos et en bon françois, ny trop gaye ny trop triste sur ses malheurs.

Le Roy d'Angleterre a paru moins affligé. Il est vieilly et voué comme le comte de Gramont. On ne scauroit encore avoir plus de familiarité ny de bonté à recevoir ceux qui ont l'honneur d'y aller, ce que nostre Roy veut qu'on fasse en usant d'une manière à admirer et à bien contenter de si nobles fugitifs.

Le Roy receut la Reine d'Angleterre à sa premiere visite à Versaille, dans la cour, à la descente de son carosse, il l'amena dans le salon où il s'habille, il y avoit deux fauteuils préparez. Elle fit façon de prendre la droite, le Roy luy dit qu'elle se mocquoit de luy. Elle s'assit au dessus, S. M. au dessous, Mgr. et Monsieur sur des pliants qui y estoient encore. Le Roy en fit apporter deux autres pour Madame de Montecuculi² et la gouvernante du prince de Galle³ qui accompagnoient la Reine. La visite faite, le Roy la prit et la fit passer par sa gallerie qu'elle trouva fort belle pour aller chez Madame la Dauphine où il la laissa. Madame la Dauphine vint recevoir la Reine d'Angleterre à l'entrée de son appartement. Il y avoit dans la chambre six fauteuils arrangez, l'un pour la Reine, l'autre pour Madame la Dauphine, un pour Mgr., les trois restanz pour nos petits princes.⁴

La Reine d'Angleterre vint ensuite chez Madame qui eust son fauteuil comme Monsieur le sien. En sortant elle dit à Madame que la cérémonie devant finir le lendemain elle la prioit de la finir tout à l'heure et de ne la point reconduire. Mr de Lausun lui servoit de chevalier d'honneur qui, pour se faire valoir, a rendu à ce que l'on prétend beaucoup de mauvais offices, surtout à Mr de Charost⁵ qui n'a pas entendu la réception à Calais comme

¹ La reine d'Angleterre, Marie de Modène, était par sa grand'mère Margarita Mazarini, parente du cardinal Mazarin dont Hortense et Marie-Anne Mancini étaient les nièces.

² Vittoria Montecuccoli, femme de Virgile Davia, comte d'Almond et grand écuyer de Jacques II jusqu'en 1686, une amie dévouée et une compatriote de la reine d'Angleterre.

³ La marquise de Powis.

⁴ Louis, duc de Bourgogne, Philippe, duc d'Anjou, et Charles, duc de Berry, les fils de Monseigneur et de Marie Anne Christine Victoire de Bavière.

⁵ Armand I^{er} de Béthune, duc de Charost, gouverneur particulier de Calais.

Mr d'Aumon à Bologne. Mais quoy qu'il en soit, pour toucher encore un peu l'autre, quand on dit devant la comtesse de Montecuculi qu'il a sauvé la Reine d'Angleterre, elle répond : "No, no, ma s'è salvato con la Regina!"

Je n'apprends point que ses premières entrées luy soient restituées. Il a le logement de feu Mr de Vardes à Versaille.

C'est à ce coup que le marquis de Villars¹ revient de Bavière. On l'attend dans cinq ou six jours. L'Electeur s'est déclaré contre nous et le prince Louis de Baden commandera sur le Rhin sous S.A.E. Nos armées ne seront point indifférentes et nous avons de bons ramparts.

Le cardinal nonce à la cour de l'Empereur escrit à Mr de Louvois qu'il s'est employé avec joye à l'eschange de Mr de Souvré et à luy procurer en attendant qu'il demeure sur sa parole à Vienne. Il l'assure qu'il n'y a point d'instance que le pape ne fasse auprès de l'empereur pour le porter à la paix.

Nos françois et les allemands ont eu quelque petit rencontre que la Renommée qui nous est ennemie ne manquera pas de sonner à nostre désavantage, mais La Breteche, un de nos meilleurs partisans qu'on a voulu couper, s'est heureusement retiré et le comte de Tessé² a secouru si à propos un de nos quartiers qu'on vouloit enlever qu'il ne l'a point esté. Le régiment de Piémont a seulement perdu son lieutenant-colonel appelé La Lande. On disoit que le comte de Rebé³ y estoit demeuré mais il est en bonne santé.

Mr de Savoye⁴ donne trois de ses régiments au Roy. Je ne doute pas que les ministres et courtisans de ce duc ne soient fâchez d'avoir un souverain si habille.

Le Roy a prié le Roy d'Angleterre que les protestants de son Royaume ne vissent point icy.

Le prince d'Orange, requis par les Anglois de nous déclarer la guerre, a respondu que cette affaire estoit d'une si grande importance qu'il la faloit remettre au parlement et n'a mesme accepté la qualité d'administrateur que jusque là. On dit qu'il a demandé la permission de renvoyer 8000 hommes de ses troupes en Hollande et on croit que ce detachment se fera des anglois plustot que des hollandois parcequ'il tiendra par ce moyen les anglois en bride par les hollandois et ceux-cy par les autres.

Il faut finir icy par un de nos petits dictons communs : plus fin que luy n'est pas beste.

Du 17^e Janvier 1689.

Je vous envoie, Monsieur, des nouvelles bien barbouillées mais il y eut hier de la confusion c'éans, ma mère estant tombée dans un évanouissement qui dura deux heures. Tout est à craindre à 83 ans et dans la rigueur de la saison que nous souffrons. Ainsy quoi qu'elle soit revenue et mieux ce matin je n'en suis pas quite quand à l'inquiétude.

La nouvelle mesme estoit en réponse à un autre, mais comme je vas toujours au plus pressé vous en profiterez.

¹ Pierre, marquis de Villars, le père du maréchal. Il était alors en mission diplomatique près de l'electeur de Bavière.

² René de Froullay, comte de Tessé.

³ Claude Hyacinthe de Faverges, marquis de Rebé. Il commandait comme colonel le régiment de Piémont.

⁴ Victor Amédée II, duc de Savoie, gendre du duc d'Orléans.

J'ay bien de la joye néantmoins, quoy que triste d'ailleurs, d'apprendre que vous vous rendes aus advis de Mr le chevalier de Grignan et aus miens. Je crois tout de bon que vous aves besoin d'estre humecté. Je m'en raporte à l'illustre Doyen que je remercie de son exactitude et auquel je baise bien humblement les mains. Vous estes trop heureux d'estre ensemble. Je ne demanderay qu'un amy solide sans envisager de séparation, fût-ce sur le haut d'une montagne, avec qui je puisse moraliser et politiquer. Je vous envoie de quoy faire l'un, qui se peut accommoder avec l'autre, étant très permis selon Dieu et selon le monde d'avoir de l'attention à l'extraordinaire événement d'Angleterre et à ce qui remue d'ailleurs la Chrestienté. Raisonnes donc, Monsieur, "con il decano" et continues moy tous deux l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces.

Je ne scay si vous aves Mr d'Aguesseau. Il devient mal sain et voudroit bien s'excuser d'aller en Dauphiné. Si feu l'aisné vivoit il auroit sujet d'estre content d'y voir commander son fils.

Nos troupes se rapprochent du Rhin.

à Versaille le 15.¹

Le Roy est allé voir après disnée le Roy d'Angleterre. Ils sont demeurés une bonne heure enfermés ensemble teste à teste. Après quoy S.M. est venue voir la Reine.

Le prince d'Orange donne des passeports à ceux qui en souhaitent jusqu'à Mr Skelton.² Un grand chambellan de leurs M.B. est arrivé hier, et un autre arrivera dans deux jours.

Il y a une assemblée nationale de tous les grands seigneurs et peuples convoquée en Angleterre, je ne scay à quelle ville, pour aviser à ce qui se doit faire dans l'absence du Roy. C'est le terme à ce que l'on dit.

Il n'est pas vray que l'armée angloise soit licenciée.

La Reine d'Espagne se croit grosse.

Du 19^e Janvier 1689.

Il faut se rétracter sur l'article d'Elbron. C'estoit le quartier de Mr le comte de Tessé, qui n'a esté ny attaqué ny perdu son équipage. C'est à une autre occasion que le lieutenant-colonel de Piémont a esté tué.

A l'égard de Mr de Feuquières la chose est vraye. Il a tué trois cent dragons de Neuremberg et pris les chevaux, les allemands et les françois ne se faisant point de quartier.

Le Roy d'Angleterre vint icy lundi dans un carosse de Bontans,³ un laquais derrière, le due de Bervik⁴ avec Mr de Lausun dedans, deux hommes à cheval. Il entendit la messe et communia aus Jesuites de la rue St Antoine,

¹ C'est un post-scriptum qui s'explique par la maladie de Madame Le Bailleur. Sa fille n'ayant pas le temps de dicter fait simplement copier par son secrétaire les nouvelles envoyées par le correspondant de Versailles.

² Bevil Skelton qui, comme envoyé de Jacques II en Hollande, avait dénoncé les agissements de Guillaume d'Orange et qui resta fidèle à Jacques II.

³ Alexandre Bontemps, premier valet de chambre ordinaire du Roi.

⁴ Jacques Fitz-James, duc de Berwick, fils naturel de Jacques II et d'Arabella Churchill.

disna chez Mr de Lausun et alla ensuite voir la mère Agnez¹ au grand convent des Carmélites, se ressouvenant qu'elle est la première qui luy a parlé du changement de sa religion. Cela est fort beau mais le monde voudroit qu'il eût plustost aimé les Bénédictins ou autres religieux que les pères de la société à cause qu'ils sont odieux en Angleterre, et mesme que Mr de Louvois répondit il y a trois mois au père de La Chaise qui luy demandoit s'il n'avoit point de nouvelles du pere Petters² que scauroit (*sic*) esté un grand bonheur qu'il se fut noyé il y a longtemps.

Madame de Bouillon revient. La prince d'Orange luy a donné un yach, mais il a voulu un passeport d'icy auparavant qu'on luy a envoyé.

Les seigneurs d'Angleterre se sont assemblés pour aviser aus moyens de convoquer un parlement, les uns disant que cela ne se pouvoit sans un Roy, les autres l'ont emporté, et les lettres circulaires pour la convocation seront signées du prince d'Orange auquel on donne les deniers royaux qui se montent a vingt millions. Ces séditieux disent qu'on peut faire le procès au Roy sur cinq chefs qui sont :

qu'il a empoisonné le Roy son frère,³
fait couper la gorge au Comte d'Essex,⁴
supposé un enfant,⁵
introduit le papisme,
et quitté son royaume.

Voilà de meschante canaille et toutes les testes couronnées devroient, s'entendre pour l'exterminer.

Ma mère se porte mieux, Dieu mercy, et je vous honore toujours Monsieur, parfaitement.

Du 21^e Janvier 1689.

J'ay bien de la joye, Monsieur d'apprendre que vous soyez en bonne santé, suivant ce que vostre intendant a pris la peine de me venir dire ce matin de vostre part. Nous l'avons chargé comme un mulet, Mr de Jussac et moi, d'humbles complimens pour vous.

Ma mère continue de me donner toujours de l'inquietude. Il s'est fait dépost sur son pied qui nous fait craindre la gangrène par deffaut de chaleur naturelle. Mais son esprit est ferme, et en Dieu.

Nos armateurs ont fait une prise de trois millions dans la méditerranée sur les hollandois.

Le mariage de Melle d'Arpajon se traite avec le Comte de Roussy.⁶

¹ Judith Gigault de Bellefonds, en religion la mère Agnès de Jesus Maria, prieure des Carmélites.

² Le jésuite Edouard Petre, confesseur de Jacques II, dont les maladresses ne contribuèrent pas pour peu à provoquer la révolution de 1688.

³ Le roi Charles II.

⁴ Arthur Capel, comte d'Essex, compromis dans le complot de Rye House, en 1682, envoyé à la Tour de Londres, y mourut le 13 juillet 1683. Il s'était probablement suicidé.

⁵ On disait que la grossesse de Marie de Modène avait été simulée et que le prétendu fils de Jacques II était en réalité le fils d'un meunier.

⁶ Catherine Françoise d'Arpajon épousa le 8 février 1689 François de Roye de La Rochefoucauld, comte de Roucy.

Celui de M^{lle} de La Ferté¹ fut fait dans la pompe et les bons mots des Eveillez.² M^r de Mirepoix auroit mieux fait d'espouser M^{lle} d'Alerac.³

M^{lle} de Gesvres⁴ a la petite vérolle.

M^r Dada⁵ est arrivé icy. Le cardinal Renuzzi⁶ et luy vouloient loger ensemble mais on ne l'a pas jugé à propos. Ce dernier venu est allé à St. Germain où tous les moines abondent.

Le prince d'Orange a fait occuper par ses troupes les isles de Jarsé⁷ et de Grenezay,⁸ proches de nos costes mais inaccessibles de ce costé là. M^r de Barillon dit qu'il n'avoit qu'une seule escharpe orangée pour son escorte quand il est venu à Douvre, tant tout luy est soumis.

On destine M^{rs} les Mareschaux de France ainsy :

M. de Duras en Allemagne,

M. d'Humieres en Flandre,

M. de Bellefonds en Normandie,

M. d'Estrees en Bretagne pour mer et terre,

M. de Lorge en Guienne,

et M. de Luxembourg à l'armée qui sera au chasteau du Loir.

Je n'en scay pas davantage aujourd'huy.

M^r de Feuquieres est celui qui brille le plus. Il escrit qu'il a ramené cent cinquante chevaux des dragons de Neuremberg et laissé les corps dans l'attente de la resurrection éternelle, à la réserve de douze qu'il a renvoyés après leur avoir fait couper les [nez] et les oreilles, pour dire aus allemands que s'il se . . . voient à égorger nos françois de sens froid, comme ils avoient fait vingt cavaliers du régiment de Villeroy, il leur rendroit toujours au triple.

Du 22 Janvier 1689.⁹

Il a esté résolu dans un conseil tenu à Londres en présence de M^r le prince d'Orange d'envoyer à Bordeaux et à Brouage quérir nos vins et du sel moyennant des passeports de France qu'on leur a envoyés. Le p. d'Orange

¹ Marie Angélique de la Ferté-Senneterre, mariée à 13 ans à Gaston Jean Baptiste de Levis, marquis de Mirepoix.

² Je ne sais qui la marquise d'Huxelles designe ainsi et si elle emploie le mot comme un simple adjectif ou comme un titre réservé aux-membres d'un groupe de courtisans. La lettre majuscule ne fournit aucune indication, la gazette étant de la main du secrétaire.

³ Françoise Julie de Grignan, fille du comte de Grignan et de sa première femme Angélique Clarice d'Angennes. Elle épousa, le 30 mars suivant, Henri Eléonore Hurault, marquis de Vibraye.

⁴ Marie Jeanne Felice Rosalie Potier, demoiselle de Gesvres, dame de Blerancourt, etc., fille de Léon Potier, duc de Gesvres et de Marie Françoise Angelique Duval.

⁵ D'Adda.

⁶ Ange Marie Ranuzzi, cardinal archevêque de Bologne, nonce du pape auprès de Louis XIV.

⁷ Jersey.

⁸ Guernesey

⁹ On trouve avant cette gazette un long bulletin de quatre pages, daté de "La Haye le 21 Janvier 1689" que Madame d'Huxelles a dû joindre à une de ses lettres mais qui ne fait pas à proprement parler partie de la gazette.

vouloir faire entrer Benting¹ dans ses conseils mais les anglois s'y sont fortement opposez et beaucoup murmurent déjà, particulièrement les Evesques, de l'autorité que le prince d'Orange veut prendre. Les 14 mil anglois qu'il veut encore envoyer en Hollande pour retenir autant d'hollandois les choque (*sic*) fort aussy.

La pension de Madame de Mazarin est conservée. On attend Madame de Bouillon qui apporte la procuration de Mr et de Madame de Roye² pour le mariage de Mr le Comte de Roussy leur fils avec M^{lle} d'Arpajon.

Tirconnel,³ vice-roy d'Irlande, a mandé au prince d'Orange qu'il tiendrait pour le Roy autant qu'il pourroit et que ce procédé devoit estre approuvé par luy qui vouloit que ses gens fissent la mesme chose dans les places qu'il leur confioit. On prétend qu'il y a cent mil Irlandois catholiques et qui ne demandent que des armes. On en a fait partir d'icy trois frégattes pleines.

On attend le courrier qu'on a envoyé en Espagne pour la seureté qu'on demande aus Espagnols de la neutralité qu'ils proposent.

Nous avons traité avec Liège qui donne au Roy cinquante mil escus pendant que la guerre durera.

La citadelle se démolit à la reserve d'un bastion qui continue les murailles de la ville.

Bulonde⁴ en a bruslé un faubourg en attendant l'accomodement.

Le Roy rend aux Liegeois par ce traité la petite ville de Huis.⁵

Il se dit que l'électeur de Brandebourg n'est pas content des hollandois et qu'en passant à Wesel il y a parfaitement bien traité Mr Verjus⁶ qui s'y est trouvé pour régler les contributions des pays de cet Electeur et ceux de Neubourg.

Les allemands ont bombardé de l'autre costé du Rhin un faubourg de Mayance.

Mr de Villars est attendu. Il ramène des françois de Munik que l'Electeur a congediés.

Mr de Lorraine a opiné à la continuation de la guerre du costé du Turc disant qu'il ne seroit pas aisé aus allemands d'avoir de l'avantage sur les françois.

Mr de Chiveryn⁷ est revenu. Le Roy de Danemar le fit prier à son départ, attendu la nécessité du temps, de se contenter d'une lettre de change en France de douse mil francs pour son présent.

Il y en a qui disent que l'on parle de la démolition de Blaye.

La retraite d'Elbron n'a pas esté judicieusement faite par Mr de Monclars.⁸ Nos troupes furent chargées en queue et il se dit qu'il en a

¹ William Bentinck, comte de Portland.

² Le comte de Roye et sa femme avaiient dû émigrer en Angleterre à la suite de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes.

³ Richard Talbot, comte de Tyrconnel.

⁴ Le lieutenant-général Vivien Labbé de Bulonde.

⁵ Huy.

⁶ Louis Verjus, comte de Crécy.

⁷ Louis de Clermont-Montglat, comte de Cheverny, ambassadeur en Danemarck.

⁸ Joseph de Pons de Guimera, baron de Montclar.

receü quelque réprimande. Enfin après avoir razé tous les chasteaux et les villes du Palatinat, tout est revenu en deça le Rhin.

Rome va plus mal que jamais.

M^r le duc de Charost a demandé la permission de se venir justifier,¹ qu'il a obtenue, et M^r de Maulévrier est venu de Dunquerque commander dans Calais.

Il se parle de confisquer Coubert² qui est à M^r de Schomberg.

Je reçois, Monsieur, votre première signature avec toute la joye dont je suis capable, et le péril passé m'espouvante tant encore que je voudrois pouvoir ignorer que vous ayez esté jusqu'aux portes de la mort. C'est un voyage qu'il faut que tout le monde fasse, que celui d'aller non seulement jusque là, mais de passer outre. Il faut que ce soit le plus [tard] qu'il se pourra.

Du 25 Janvier 1689.³

Il n'est pas seür que M^r le prince d'Orange ait voulu faire entrer Benting dans les conseils d'Angleterre. Cela ne seroit point de la prudence que l'on luy donne dans les affaires, mais le reste que l'on escrit hier⁴ est vray et on adjoute que l'on trouve souvent dans les rues de Londres des soldats hollandois massacrés.

Ce n'est point M^r l'Electeur de Bavière qui a congédié les françois mais ils ont pris congé eux mesmes quand ils ont veü sa déclaration contre nous. M^r de Villars en ramène plus de cent.

Les liégeois ont donné deux cens mil escus d'abord par dessus les cinquante mil qu'ils fourniront par an.

C'est Gravelle⁵ et non Verjus que l'Electeur de Brandebourg a trouvé à Vezel.⁶

J'ay ouy dire que l'on fortifioit Blaye, plutôt que de le démolir.

Ce n'est pas confiscation à Coubert, qui ne se peut sans condamnation, mais saisie de la part du Roy.

M^r de Charost se justifie et doit retourner à Calais après la cérémonie de l'Ordre à la Chandeleure et qu'il aura pris le cordon avec M^r le premier,⁷ M^r de Tilladée⁸ et ceux qui n'ont point esté receüs au premier jour de l'an. Sy M^r de Maulévrier commande en sa place à Calais, ce n'est qu'en attendant son retour.

Du 26.⁹

Le Roy dit avant hier à M^r de Feuquieres qu'il l'avoit fait venir pour l'envoyer gouverner à Bordeaux.

¹ De la façon dont il avait reçu le roi d'Angleterre.

² Coubert (Seine-et-Marne, arr^t Melun).

³ Les premiers lignes de cette gazette ont été copiées sur la verso blanc du dernier feuillet de la gazette précédente par le propriétaire anonyme de la correspondance dont nous avons parté plus haut.

⁴ Cette lettre manque ou, tout au moins, n'est pas à sa place.

⁵ Probablement Jules de Gravel, marquis de Marly.

⁶ Wesel.

⁷ Jacques Louis de Beringhen, premier écuyer de la petite écurie du Roi.

⁸ Jean Baptiste de Cassagnet, marquis de Tilladet.

⁹ Sur la même feuille que la gazette du 25.

Il est arrivé un courrier de Mr de Lavardin,¹ expédié après le concistoire tenu, dont je ne scay point encore la teneur et Madame sa Mère,² qui estoit hier céans, ne la scavoit pas aussy.

Mr le Chevalier de Grignan fit grand compassion à Mr l'abbé de Marcillac,³ à Melles de La Rochefoucauld⁴ et à moy, de la sévérité de Mr de Rochebonne⁵ envers son fils qu'il exposa moitié haut et moitié bas à cette illustre Douairière,⁶ parente de son costé, pour examiner avec elle ce qu'il y avoit à faire sur le séminaire proposé. Nous conclûmes qu'il n'en faloit point parler à présent et que le péché de cet enfant, qui consiste à avoir esté une seule fois à la comédie, ne méritoit point qu'on l'y mit comme un homme bien détraqué, mesme que cela pourroit luy nuire auprès du père de La Chaise et qu'il faloit exhorter auparavant que d'user de violence à son égard présentement, parce qu'il ne se deffendoit pas d'y entrer lorsqu'il auroit achevé son temps au colège.

Voilà, Monsieur, tout ce que j'auray l'honneur de vous dire aujourd'huy à moins de chose extraordinaire, mais je ne laisseray pas la plume sans vous apprendre que Mr le marquis de Grignan qui accompagnoit Mr son oncle est très joly, très aimable et très bien.

Du 28 Janvier 1689.

Mr le duc de Charost s'est fort bien justifié et la confusion demeure sur le nez de ceux qui luy ont voulu nuire. Il retourne à Calais. On luy donne Laubanie⁷ pour commander sous luy et Courtebonne⁸ va à Hesdin.

Le Marquis de Villars est entré heureusement en France mais Mr de Lusignan⁹ a esté arrêté par les peuples dans une petite ville approchant les Suisses, nonobstant les passeports de l'Empereur.

Mr le Mal d'Estrées part demain pour aller à Brest où les ordres du Roy luy seront envoyez. On croit qu'ils ne toucheront point au commandement de Mr de Chaulne.¹⁰

Mr de Feuquières va commander à Bordeaux avec huit mil escus d'appointement.

¹ L'ambassadeur du Roi à Rome.

² Marguerite Renée de Rostaing, veuve en 1644 de Henri II de Beaumanoir, marquis de Lavardin.

³ Henri Achille de la Rochefoucauld, abbé de Marcillac.

⁴ Marie Catherine dite Mademoiselle de la Rochefoucauld, Henriette dite Mademoiselle de Marcillac et Françoise dite Mademoiselle d'Anville, toutes trois sœurs de l'abbé.

⁵ Charles de Chateauneuf, comte de Rochebonne.

⁶ C'est évidemment Madame de Rochebonne, Thérèse Adhemar de Monteil, sœur du comte de Grignan et par conséquent du chevalier de Grignan. Je ne comprends d'ailleurs pas le qualificatif de "Douairière."

⁷ Yrieix de Magontier de Laubanie.

⁸ Jacques Louis de Calonne, marquis de Courtebonne.

⁹ Claude Hugues, marquis de Lezignem, ambassadeur à Vienne. Il fut arrêté à Bregenz.

¹⁰ Gouverneur de Bretagne.

On lève encore 40 compagnies franches de dragons.

Racine s'est surpassé dans la tragédie d'Esther qui a esté représentée à St. Cyr par les petites filles. Elle est dans la manière des grecs et du goust de l'Ecriture Ste. Madame de Quélus¹ prononça le prologue divinement sous le personnage de la piété où il y eust des louanges pour le Roy et de Mgr. enchassés avec un art admirable. On parle de ce poème comme d'un chef d'œuvre et je vous l'enverray, Monsieur, des qu'il sera imprimé.

Voicy tout ce que vous aurez de moy aujourd'huy avec la gazette de Besançon. Les hollandaises qui me reviennent commenceront à trotter lundi pour vostre service.

Du 31^e Janvier 1689.

M^r le Mareschal d'Estrées partit hier pour aller à Brest. Le bruit de Paris veut qu'il aille en Irlande pour y faire une grande diversion, le vice-roy ne demandant que des armes et du secours, ayant déjà plus de vingt cinq mil catholiques ensemble. On prétend qu'un Milord que le prince d'Orange a envoyé à l'armée d'Angleterre afin de l'y faire marcher en a esté refusé par ces troupes qui se sont mises à crier: "le Roy soit béni," qui est nostre "Vive le Roy," et les fermiers des deniers royaux n'ont point voulu les delivrer au prince d'Orange, disant ne le pouvoir que par l'autorité du parlement. Voicy le temps qu'il se doit assembler sous le nom de convention, car tous les jurisconsultes d'Angleterre ont trouvé qu'on ne pouvoit assembler de parlement sans le Roy. Il s'ajoute à ces nouvelles que le prince d'Orange fait redoubler la garde toutes les nuits et qu'il veut envoyer M^r de Schomberg en Irlande, nonobstant les instances qu'on luy fait du costé de l'électeur de Brandebourg et de la Hollande pour le ravoir. Les affaires ne sont pas encore sans difficulté en Angleterre, les uns le voulant, les autres (Alifax² à leur teste) proposant une république, le Roy ayant toujours son parti qui est le plus foible. Sa Majesté Britannique a escrit une belle lettre à tous les Lords pour leur rendre compte des motifs qui l'ont obligé de se retirer. Elle en avoit laissé une sur la table de sa chambre en sortant de son Royaume. Il y en a qui disent qu'on luy a donné un conseil icy composé de M^{rs} Courtin,³ Barillon, d'Avaux⁴ et de Fieubet.⁵ Sa maison commence demain, celle du Roy se retirera. Cette Majesté disoit l'autre jour à M^r de La Feuillade⁶ qu'il luy estoit revenu douse gardes et trente prestres. M^r de La Feuillade luy respondit qu'il luy auroit esté meilleur d'avoir plus des premiers que des derniers.

Nostre traité est fait avec les Suisses.

Le Marquis de Villars a pensé se tuer à Basle, estant tombé dans le fossé en y arrivant la nuit, mais il en est quite pour la hanche un peu incommodée.

Le Roy veut que les Espagnols s'expliquent en sa faveur dans le mois de mars ou il leur déclarera la guerre.

¹ Marthe Marguerite le Valois de Villette de Mursay, marquise de Caylus.

² Sir George Savile, marquis de Halifax.

³ Honoré Courtin, conseiller d'état.

⁴ Jean Antoine de Mesmes, comte d'Avaux.

⁵ Gaspard de Fieubet, conseiller d'état.

⁶ François d'Aubusson, duc de La Feuillade, maréchal de France.

On fait des créations nouvelles des Maîtres des Eaux et Forests et de deux trésoriers de l'Espagne sous le nom de gardes du trésor Royal. Ils donneront chacun huit cents mil francs et auront quarante mil livres de rente. Frémont¹ avec la mort entre les dents en est un.

Mr le duc de La Vieuville² se meurt.

Le pape est toujours opiniâtre.

Ma mère n'est pas mieux. Je crains fort que le doigt de son pied ne soit la nature qui manque en elle.

Mille très humbles bonsoirs, Monsieur.

Mr le duc de Gramont joue au billard avec le Roy en la place de Mr Chamillart.

Je reçois la lettre du bon Doyen du 25 de ce mois dont je vous supplie, Monsieur, de le bien remercier. Ravie que vous mangiez du potage, que vous moralisiez et que vous politiques. Je voudrais seulement que ce fût encore avec le coadjuteur, afin qu'il continuât de voir combien je méritois toute son attention icy. Mais sur le chapitre du détachement que vous me mettes devant les yeux, j'ose vous dire que vous en parlez bien à votre aise parceque vous faites ce qui est justement dans votre cœur et ce qu'il vous plaît. Je ne scay pas si précisément le secret de la complexion du bon Doyen et s'il a autant de plaisir à la résidence nécessaire que vous en avez à la votre volontaire, d'où je ne doute pas que vous n'alliez bien droit en paradis, mais j'aurois souhaité que vous eussiez voulu faire ce chemin avec vos amis. Dieu ne le veut pas, tout estant marqué par l'ordre de sa providence.

Ma mère vous remercie de l'honneur que vous lui faites de vous souvenir d'elle. Elle se recommande à vos prières, disant qu'il les faut redoubler pour les personnes de 84 ans qui ont un pied dans la fosse. Son mal présent est un gros doigt de pied. Les chirurgiens disent qu'il faut attendre du reste de sa chaleur naturelle la guérison plustost que de leur art. Cela lui est venu en suite de cette perte de connoissance qu'elle eust il y eust hier trois semaines qui dura trois heures. Sa teste est comme à vingt ans et elle voulust encore hier aller communier à l'Eglise. Enfin nous craignons qu'à la fin la gangrène vienne à ce mal là. Priez Dieu pour nous.

¹ Nicolas de Frémont. Il garda la mort entre ses dents pendant quelques années puisqu'il ne mourut qu'en 1696.

² Charles II, duc de La Vieuville.

WILLIAM TINDALE AND THE EARLIER TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE INTO ENGLISH.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FOUR-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE PUBLICATION OF TINDALE'S FIRST NEW TESTAMENT,
WHICH WAS ISSUED TOWARDS THE END OF 1525.

THE most potent factor in the establishment of Christianity, whether in this country or in any other, has been the Bible, and in order to be effective, it has had to be, as was the case at Pentecost, a proclamation to every man in his own language.¹

In the Christianization of our own country, the need of a Bible, which could speak to the people in their own tongue, was felt from the first.

When St. Columba and his twelve followers landed at Iona from Ireland, in the year 567, and again, thirty years later, when St. Augustine and his forty companions landed in Kent, they needed interpreters in order to make known to the people the purpose of their coming. The Venerable Bede tells us that Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, acted as interpreter to his missionary friend Aidan, who was not quite familiar with the English tongue.

And just as these early missionaries needed interpreters, so did the manuscript Bibles which they brought with them need interpretation, because they were written in Latin, and to all intents and purposes were sealed books to our Saxon forefathers.

¹ To-day the Bible or some part of it has been translated into upwards of 800 languages or dialects, of which number the British and Foreign Bible Society has been responsible for the publication or circulation of 572. Although so much has been done, very much more remains to be done before it can be said to be possible for every man to read God's message in his mother tongue, since Adelung computes that there are 3664 different languages or dialects spoken in the world, distributed as follows: European 587, Asiatic 937, African 276, American 1624, Oceanic 240.



from the Magdalen Hall Portrait now in Hertford College, Oxford

It has been said of the political constitution under which we live and are governed, that it was not made but grew, that it was the outcome of a process of development which was the result of a long series of struggles with adverse forces. And what is true of the English constitution is true also of the English Bible. It has reached its present form through many successive stages of growth, each stage representing its own features of historic interest, and its own record of self-sacrificing zeal and devotion.

For that reason, we propose in the following pages briefly to sketch the history of the beginnings of what may be regarded as the pre-eminent English classic, which has an eventful history, dating back to the seventh century. For twelve hundred years England has not been without some portion of the Bible in the language of the people.

Coleridge was right when he said : " that to write the true history of the Bible and its influence on England, was almost to write the history of England itself."

The literary history of the Bible may be said to begin with John Wiclif, to whom is ascribed the honour of having given to his own countrymen, in or about the year 1382, the first complete Bible in their own tongue.

Long prior to Wiclif's time, however, portions of the Bible had been translated or paraphrased in rhyme, both in Anglo-Saxon and in a number of the dialects which had grown up in various parts of the country.

It is unlikely that these paraphrases exercised much influence upon the succeeding versions, but they certainly prepared the way for Wiclif's work.

As early as the seventh century, Caedmon, who has been described as " the first Saxon poet," and as " the Milton of our forefathers," rendered into verse portions both of the CAEDMON. Old Testament and of the New.

No more pleasant story has come down to us from those Saxon days, than that which the Venerable Bede relates in his " Ecclesiastical History " of this early Christian poet, and we cannot do better than reproduce the often-quoted passage containing it (Book IV, chap. 24 ; transl. by T. Miller) :

In the monastery of this abbess (the abbess Hild or Hilda of Streaneshalch or Whitby) there was a brother specially remarkable and distinguished by the divine grace. For he was wont to compose suitable songs, tending to religion and piety, so that whatever he had learnt through scholars of the divine writings, he presently embellished in poetic compositions of the greatest sweetness and fervour, well expressed in the English language. And by his songs many men's minds were often fired to disregard the world and attach themselves to the heavenly life. And also many others after him in England began to compose pious songs, none, however, could do that like him. For he had not been taught of men or through man to acquire the art of song, but he had divine aid, and received the art of song through God's grace. And for this reason he never could compose anything frivolous, nor any idle poetry, but just that only which tended to piety, and which it became his pious tongue to sing. The man had lived in the world till the time that he was of advanced age, and never had learnt any poetry, and as he was often at a feast, when it was arranged to promote mirth, that they should all in turn sing to the harp, whenever he saw the harp come near him, he arose out of shame from the feast and went home to his house. Having done so on one occasion, he left the house of entertainment and went out to the fold of the cattle, the charge of which had been committed to him for that night. When in due time . . . he fell asleep, there stood by him in a dream a man, who saluted and greeted him, calling on him by name: 'Caedmon, sing me something.' Then he answered and said: 'I cannot sing anything; and therefore I came out from this entertainment and retired here, as I know not how to sing.' Again he who spoke to him said: 'Yet you could sing.' Then said he: 'What shall I sing?' He said: 'Sing to me of the beginning of all things.' On receiving this answer, he at once began to sing, in praise of God the Creator, verses and words which he had never heard. . . . Then he arose from his sleep, and he had firmly in his memory all that he had sung while asleep . . . In the morning he came to the steward . . . and told him what gift he had received . . .

The matter was reported to the Abbess, who after testing his gift in the presence of all the best scholars and students, had sacred narratives related to him, that he might render them into verse. The abbess also enjoined him to leave the world and become a monk, and he assented.

And so it came about that the simple farm labourer, who had little learning of any kind, sang to his learned brethren, who in turn related to him the whole round of sacred history and narrative, explaining its meaning. Upon these Caedmon 'like a clean animal ruminated and converted all into sweet music,' so that his teachers gladly became his hearers, and even wrote down the words from his lips and learnt them.

The most important of Caedmon's poetic paraphrases are Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel. He sang also about Christ's Incarnation, His Passion, His Ascension into Heaven, the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of the Apostles.

These religious poems or paraphrases were learnt and sung by the people, and for a time were their sole source of Bible knowledge. Important as they are as the earliest Anglo-Saxon works presenting Scripture in any form, they have no claim to rank among translations.

The first translators of whom we have any information are : Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, ALDHELM. who died in 709 ; and Guthlac, a hermit of Crowland, near Peterborough, who was born in 674. To each of these devout men is ascribed a version of the Psalter, now probably lost. An Anglo-Saxon paraphrase in the Paris National Library, containing the first fifty Psalms in prose, the remainder in verse (edited by B. Thorpe, Oxford, 1835), has been incorrectly attributed to Aldhelm.

Of all the early translators the Venerable Bede retains most freshly his charm for the student to-day. His work was BEDE. done at the monastery of Jarrow, on the Tyne, where, even yet, in strange contrast to the forest of chimneys and furnaces, some scanty ruins of his church remain.

Bede is one of those fascinating characters in history, who never grow old. He combined the frank simplicity of the child, with the scholar's range of learning, the enthusiasm of a true teacher, and the piety of a saint. He was the most famous scholar of his day. In the words of Edmund Burke he was "the father of English learning." More than any other man he made Northumbria the literary centre of Western Europe.

Of the translators before Tindale's time he is the only one of whom it can be reasonably conjectured that he went to the original Greek, rather than to the Latin Vulgate for his authority. We are told that he owned and frequently referred to a Greek-Latin codex of the Acts of the Apostles, which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

How much of the Bible he translated is uncertain, but the last work of a laborious life was the translation of the fourth Gospel. His devotion to this labour of love is touchingly described by his

disciple Cuthbert, afterwards Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in a letter to his fellow-reader Cuthwin on the death of their "Father and Master whom God loved." On what proved to be his death-bed, in the intervals of relief from pain, Bede dictated his translation to one of his disciples, and when, as the last sentence was written, the boy said it is now finished, the Master replied "You have said the truth, it is ended," and on the pavement of his cell, facing the holy place, where he was wont to pray, he breathed his last breath, with the Doxology upon his lips, in the year 735.

Another of the outstanding figures of this eighth century was Alcuin, the schoolmaster of York. Egbert, one of Bede's scholars, became Archbishop of York, and founded a school and library there over which Alcuin was appointed master and librarian. A poem of the eleventh century attributes to him a translation of the Pentateuch. His love for the Scriptures is seen in the following letter addressed to a friend :

ALCUIN.

"I wish the four Gospels, instead of the twelve Aeneids, filled your breast. Be studious in reading the sacred writings; study Christ as foretold in the books of the Prophets, and as exhibited in the Gospel; and when you find Him do not lose Him, but introduce Him into the home of thy heart, and make Him the ruler of thy life."

Alcuin was sent on an embassy to Rome in 782, and there met Charlemagne, who begged him to undertake the leadership of the palatial school he had founded at Tours, for the sons of Frankish noblemen. He thus became the personal friend and adviser of one of the greatest of Emperors, and also became one of the most prominent members of that circle of great men with which Charlemagne surrounded himself, and which stood at the head of the whole of the religious and civilising influences of the age. He died at the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, in the year 804.

There is little doubt that the distribution of the Scriptures must have been much more extensive at this time than is generally supposed, as the following extract from one of Alcuin's sermons seems to indicate :

"The reading of the Scriptures is the knowledge of everlasting blessedness. In them man may contemplate himself as in some mirror, what sort of person he is. The reading cleanseth the reader's soul, for, when we pray, we speak to God, and when we read the Holy Books, God speaks to us."

The next translator was a royal personage, "The Great Alfred,"

who died in 901. In the preface to his translation of Gregory's "Pastoral Care," which is considered to be the first of ^{ALFRED.} Alfred's literary works, the king gives expression to the wish that : "all the free-born youth of my people . . . may persevere in learning . . . until they can perfectly read the English Scriptures." We cannot say to what extent he was able to minister to the fulfilment of that noble wish, by providing versions of the Scriptures for the use of the people. According to William of Malmesbury, Alfred began a version of the Psalter, but the work was interrupted by his death.

Here is the passage :

"On the news of some fresh inroad of the Danes, who were fond of burning all the books they could find, for although they had been badly beaten they had not been crushed, Alfred is said to have exclaimed : 'Then let us have God's book translated into the people's own tongue, so that if these pagans land in greater numbers, and burn all our books, the people may have the Bible by heart,' and he set about the Psalter, though he did not live to complete it."

His monument as a translator consists of the Decalogue and certain other of the Mosaic laws, which he placed at the head of his Book of Laws, popularly known as "Alfred's Dooms." Patriot as well as scholar Alfred saw clearly that no book so surely as the Bible would lay the foundations of a national literature.

Another patriot, as true of heart as Alfred, was Aelfric, one of the most renowned scholars of the famous school either ^{AELFRIC.} at Abingdon or at Winchester, which was founded by Aethelwold. Aelfric is known as "the Grammarian". He was monk at Winchester, and successively abbot of Cerne and Ensham, but we are not quite certain as to the identity of our translator, for of that name there were an Archbishop of Canterbury, an Archbishop of York, and an Abbot of Peterborough, who later became Abbot of Ensham. Whatever his identity, he is regarded as the greatest prose writer in the vernacular before the Conquest. One of his principal achievements was the translation or paraphrase of the first seven books of the Bible, which is known as "Aelfric's Heptateuch," and is now preserved in the British Museum. It was partly translated, and partly epitomised, with a prologue.

In his "Homily on reading the Scriptures," Aelfric wrote :

"Happy is he, then, who reads the Scriptures, if he convert the words into actions."

Several manuscript copies of the Heptateuch are in existence, which must have been made in the latter part of the tenth century. The exact date of Aelfric's death is not known, but it must have taken place about 1020.

In addition to these paraphrases and translations, Anglo-Saxon glosses on the Latin texts, written between the lines and interpreting the Latin, are found in manuscripts both of the Gospels and of the Psalter. A gloss differs from a translation in that it construes the text word for word between the lines, without much regard to the grammatical arrangement.

Of the glossed Gospels, the most famous is that known as the "Lindisfarne Gospels," or "St. Cuthbert's Gospels," sometimes referred to as the "Durham Book," which is now preserved in the British Museum. The Latin text was written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in honour of St. Cuthbert, who died in 687. It was illuminated by Ethelwold, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne (724-740), and at a later date, possibly in the ninth century, the interlinear translation in the Northumbrian dialect was added by a monk named Aldred, a poor priest of Holy Island. The volume remained at Lindisfarne until the Danish invasion of Northumbria in 875, when it was carried away for safety in company with the shrine which held the body of St. Cuthbert. It found a home at Durham for a long period, and was subsequently restored to Lindisfarne, where it remained until the dissolution in 1534. It was purchased by Sir Robert Cotton in the seventeenth century, through whom it passed into the keeping of the British Museum, where it is deservedly regarded as one of the nation's most treasured possessions.

Another of these glossed Gospels is preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is known as the "Rushworth Gospels" from the name of a former possessor: John Rushworth, of Lincoln's Inn, who was Deputy Clerk to the House of Commons during the Long Parliament. The Latin text was written by an Irish scribe named MacRegol, about 850. The interlinear English gloss was added by a scribe named Owun, and a priest named Faerman.

Several other glossed Psalters and Gospels dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries have come down to us. But it should be explained

that such glosses were only intended to assist the priest in reading the Latin text, when the lessons were read first in Latin and the sense was explained in the popular tongue, they were not meant for popular use.

With the conquest of England by the Normans, in 1066, English scholarship was seriously affected, and the work of translating the Scriptures suffered a check. NORMAN
CONQUEST.

The very language of the land was threatened, for the conquerors were anxious to impose their language upon the conquered nation, and to make French the language of the future. The result was that English had to fight for its very existence against the powerful forces wielded by the King and his court. But it fought strenuously, and in the end gained the victory. If the sword of the Normans had vanquished the Anglo-Saxons, the Anglo-Saxon tongue, in its turn, overthrew the French of the Normans.

Norman French became the language of the court, the school, and the bar, but the Anglo-Saxon tongue tenaciously retained its hold on the farmhouse, the cottage, the market place, and in the every day proceedings of common life.

Whilst this struggle was being waged the work of translating the Scriptures was checked. The wants of the educated classes were supplied by the French translations and paraphrases which the conquerors brought with them, and which continued to be copied. The needs of the natives were supplied by copies of the earlier Anglo-Saxon versions, which continued to be made until well into the twelfth century.

This contest for supremacy between the two languages had far-reaching effects. By the time of the Plantagenets the vernacular tongue of the country had so changed, by reason of its contact with the French spoken by the upper classes, that it had become very corrupt, and new dialects sprang up in different parts of the country, until there were almost as many dialects as there were counties, with the result that in process of time the people of the Northern counties could not understand the people of the South and *vice versa*.

It became obvious, therefore, that before there could be a common English Bible, there must be something approaching to a common English speech. Some unifying centre had to be found, and from the nature of the case it was found in the centre of England, which was in touch with the North and the South, and to a considerable extent would be understood by both.

It will not be out of place to recall two of the utterances of that famous prelate, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in the early part of the thirteenth century, whose friendship to vernacular translation of the scriptures is so well known. He is reported on one occasion to have said : " It is the will of God that the Holy Scriptures should be translated by many translators, so that what is obscurely expressed by one may be perspicuously rendered by another." And in one of his charges to the rectors of Oxford he said : " The foundation stones of the building, of which you are the architects, are the books of the prophets, amongst whom Moses, the law-giver, is rightly to be remembered ; the books also of the apostles and evangelists."

Circumstances, therefore, from which there could be no appeal, rendered it imperative that the Bible for all must be in the Middle English speech, which was slowly taking definite literary shape as the English of Chaucer and of Wiclif. In this way it came about that John Wiclif was the man, and Lutterworth, near Leicester, in the " Middle " of England, was the place, in the second half of the fourteenth century, to give to the English people the first complete Bible in their own tongue.

A few other versions of the Psalter, and of other portions of Scripture, belong to the period immediately preceding Wiclif, to which reference should be made. About 1320, William of Shoreham or Scorham, Vicar of Chart Sutton, Sevenoaks, made a faithful and literal translation of the Psalter, side by side with the Latin, verse by verse. This is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Richard Rolle, of Hampole, near Doncaster, who died in 1349, also translated the Psalter, with a commentary ; so that both the North and the South of England had men doing the same work, at the same time, though probably quite unknown to each other. Rolle's Psalter is preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. He also translated and put into verse the Lord's Prayer, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and portions of the Book of Job. His great work was " The Pricke of Conscience " : a poem of 10,000 lines, in the old Northern dialect.

SHORE-
HAM AND
ROLLE.

The latter half of the fourteenth century is memorable in the history of popular freedom. The monopolies of the favoured classes were challenged by the people as never before. Italy saw the splendid

but brief resistance to the nobles led by Rienzi, consul of orphans, widows, and the poor. In France, the peasants, stimulated alike by hunger and oppression, rose against their lords, firing their castles, and murdering their wives and children. The passionate appeal against tyranny which culminated in the revolt of Wat Tyler was smouldering long years before. This country of ours was suffering from plague and famine, and her best blood was being drained by her wars. "How long could she endure?"; "was not the world itself nearing its end?" were questions on many lips.

This was the England to which John Wiclif addressed himself, as the consciousness of his powers and obligations grew upon him. He it was who laid the foundation upon ^{WICLIF.} which later the reformers, not only in this country, but in Bohemia and in Germany, reared the mighty structure of the Reformation.

John Wiclif was born in or about the year 1320, at Richmond, in Yorkshire, and died at Lutterworth, on the last day of the year 1384. His life was closely connected with Oxford, where he held in succession several important offices. In 1356 he was Seneschal or Steward of Merton College, in 1361 Master of Balliol, in 1365 Warden of Canterbury Hall, afterwards merged in Christ's Church. In 1374 he went to Bruges as one of the commissioners sent by Edward III, to treat with the Papal Nuncio on the subject of "reservation of benefices," an encroachment by which many of the livings in England had been drawn into the hands of the Pope; and in the same year he was presented, by the King, to the rectory of Lutterworth, which preferment he retained until the close of his life. His years at Lutterworth were not peaceful years, for he was denounced as heretic and infidel by those who resented his uncompromising attacks of the abuses. In 1377 he was summoned before Convocation, at St. Paul's, to answer charges of erroneous teaching; in the following year he appeared before a Synod at Lambeth; and three years later the Chancellor of the University of Oxford condemned the opinions on the Eucharist which had been ascribed to Wiclif and his followers.

More than a century before Luther's time, Wiclif was busy denouncing and exposing the arrogance of the priests, and awakening men's minds. The Church had become very corrupt; there was corruption in doctrine, corruption in ritual, corruption in discipline, and

corruption in the patronage of church livings, and for thirty years Wiclif was a trenchant and vehement assailant of these ecclesiastical abuses. He laboured incessantly to effect a reform in the Church ; he did not, like Luther, break away from the communion of the Church and found a reformed church. The time for that was not yet ripe. What he wished to do, like many other true-hearted men, both before and since his time, was to tear away the errors that had grown upon the original doctrines, and to reform the lives of those who professed to teach the way of salvation.

Wiclif maintained that the doctrine and the practices he assailed had no warrant nor foundation in Scripture, and he held that the surest way to put an end to such ecclesiastical superstition and presumption was to acquaint the people with the Bible.

The first direct and formal prohibition of the reading of Scripture, appears to have been at the provincial Council of Toulouse in 1229. The perusal of the Scriptures, which had been translated, brought to light the errors and abuses of the Church, and those who opposed those evils received the name of heretics. To put them down the Inquisition was established in 1208 ; and, with a view to their final extermination in the territories of the Council of Toulouse, the Synod was assembled in 1229, at which forty-five canons were enacted for the rooting out of heresy. One canon (the fourteenth) prohibited the laity from even having the books of the Old or New Testament in their possession. But this attitude of the Church was by no means unopposed. In 1373, Archbishop John Thursby, of York, strongly condemned those who were then beginning to withhold the use of the Scriptures from the people.

Wiclif, by word of mouth, by his theses, by his tracts, and finally by his translation of the Bible, led many men to see the error of the doctrines of the Church.

It is customary to say that Wiclif gave to his countrymen an English version of the entire Bible. Strictly speaking that is not the case, for the whole of the translation was not his own work. He was the centre of a band of colleagues and disciples, participators in this work, whose share it is not easy to distinguish from his own. He had one collaborator, in the person of Nicholas de Hereford, one of his most ardent followers at Oxford, who made the translation of the Old Testament to the middle of Baruch (iii. 20). The original manuscript

of this translation is preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, together with another copied from it, in which there is a note assigning the work to Hereford, and indicating the place where, it is supposed, the work was interrupted in the middle of 1382, by a summons to appear before Convocation in London, to answer for his opinions, and that he never resumed it. The unfinished books of the Old Testament and the New Testament were added by another hand, believed to be Wiclif. The Bible was probably completed by the end of the year 1382, so that Wiclif, whose death took place in 1384, had the joy of seeing his hopes fulfilled.

Even though Wiclif was not the actual translator of the whole of the books of the Bible or of any of them, there is little doubt that he was the projector and inspirer of the work. Henry Knighton, who wrote his Chronicle within twenty years of Wiclif's death, complains that John Wiclif had translated the Gospel into the English tongue, and made it more plain to the laity and to women than it formerly had been, even to the learned amongst the clergy, thus throwing the Gospel pearl before swine. John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, writing in 1411, states that it was then said by the English that Wiclif had translated the whole Bible into their vernacular tongue. Therefore, by friend and foe alike, the post of honour in this noble undertaking was assigned to Wiclif.

Wiclif's version was made from the Latin Vulgate, the text of which was far from pure. It was also so exactly literal that in many places the meaning was obscure. Wiclif and his followers would be conscious of these defects, and probably soon after the completion of the first translation a revision was undertaken. Wiclif did not live to see it completed, but it is thought that it was carried through to a successful issue, in 1388, by John Purvey, one of his followers, and the friend of his last days, who had become notorious for his opinions, and already had shared in the disgrace of Hereford. Purvey's own copy is said to be still preserved in Dublin. In a general prologue of considerable length, he has left an interesting account of the method on which he proceeded on his revision, and describes himself as "a simple creature."

This first triumph of the English Bible was not won without a perilous struggle, and yet, notwithstanding the hostility of the clergy in the fifteenth century, and the wholesale devastation of libraries in the

sixteenth, not fewer than one hundred and eighty of the Wiclifite Bibles, or portions of the Bible, have survived, none of which appear to have been written later than 1450, and of which thirty-three are of the early version, the remainder being of the later, or so called Purvey revision. When we take into account the number of manuscripts which in the course of four or five centuries have been destroyed by accident or negligence, it is not too much to suppose that the surviving copies are but a small portion of those which were originally written.

It was impossible for the Wiclifite version, even as amended by Purvey, to establish itself as the national translation, if only for the reason that it was made from the Vulgate. No translation of a translation can take classic rank, and could the general circulation of the version have been assured, the completeness of its success, by stimulating the desire for acquaintance with the original language of the sacred writings, must soon have deprived it of special authority. It is, nevertheless, a memorable event in the history of English literature, enriching the language, and aiding to give it consistency, although its limited circulation, the rudimentary character of its prose, and its derivation from an incorrect Latin version, prevented it from exercising that marked influence upon our speech which was exerted later by the versions of William Tindale and succeeding scholars. "Within thirty-six years of its publication," says John Foxe, "the sweetness of God's word had been tasted by great multitudes."

It may not be out of place to remind readers that the contents and arrangement of the Wiclifite versions differ from our ordinary Bibles. The books which we know as the 1st and 2nd Books of Esdras (otherwise called the 3rd and 4th, Ezra and Nehemiah being 1st and 2nd Esdras) were rejected in the later version; the former, however, is included in the early version. The apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther are in each case placed with the canonical books; the prayer of Manasses is added to 2 Chronicles; Tobit and Judith stand before Esther, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus before Isaiah, Baruch including the Epistle to Jeremiah before Ezekiel, and 1 and 2 Maccabees after the Minor Prophets. In the New Testament St. Paul's Epistles precede the Acts of the Apostles. Many of the books of Scripture have short prefaces, also rendered from the Latin. In the Old Testament Purvey is contented with a general prologue, and a brief introduction to the Prophets. In some copies of his New

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The life of Abraham

[illegible]

Thus endeth the life of Noe

There followeth the lpe of abra :
hail /



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was one of them. This
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Testament several books have additional prologues, thought to have been written by him.

The fundamental defect of the Wiclifite versions is that they are derived from the Latin Vulgate, and not from the original Hebrew and Greek. The translators were not able even to consult the original texts. What they professed to do they did well, representing the Latin with great care and with general accuracy. Where the text before them was faulty, the error was faithfully reflected in their work. This dependence on the Vulgate was not without some compensating advantages. This English Bible was seen to be identical with the Bible which was accepted by the whole Western Church ; whereas a version taken from the languages of the Jews or of the Greeks, "the languages of the pagans and the heretics," might in those days have been suspected of some grievous taint. Whether Wiclif and his collaborators made any use of earlier translations it is hard to say ; we have no direct evidence bearing on the point, but the question has not been fully investigated.

Wiclif's death took place in 1384, but his influence lived after him, and the seed which he had been sowing began to take root, much to the annoyance of the church authorities. They thought to kill this spirit of reform by execrating the memory of the godly Wiclif. This was done by an order of the Council of Constance, but it did not have the desired effect. Heroic John Huss, who was sent to the stake for boldly preaching many of Wiclif's doctrines, gave utterance to the feelings of thousands of devout souls, when he refused to condemn Wiclif and said : "I am content that my soul should be where his soul is."

The century following Wiclif's death was not productive of any great development of the movement for reform. Wiclif's followers were true to the high trust bequeathed to them, and preached with all their powerful eloquence against the abounding corruptions of the Church, and by so doing called down a still fiercer persecution against the Lollards, as the followers of Wiclif were called, with the result that for a time any outward sign of Wiclif's premature reformation was silenced.

The clergy openly boasted that Wiclif's teaching had passed away, and, considering that all danger was over, they resumed their wonted arrogance and evil ways, with the result that the scandals which had

been so severely denounced burst forth afresh with renewed vigour. It was but the sleep before spring, the winter's rest which should cause the leaf to be greener, and the blossom to be more fragrant. Like the leaven in the parable, the teaching of Wiclif was silently doing its work, not only in this country, but in Bohemia, in Germany, and in other parts of the continent. Men were being raised up and prepared for the part which they were to perform in that mighty movement which was to characterise the sixteenth century.

The country which, more than any other, was to be distinguished in after years for its zeal in printing and in circulating the Scriptures, was very late in entering the lists. England was nourishing her faith on manuscript copies of Wiclif's versions long after the time when Bibles in the vernacular were being printed in other countries. France had a printed French Bible in 1474, Germany had fourteen printed editions of several versions in the national speech before Luther's translation of the New Testament appeared in 1522, the first of which was not later than 1466; and printed versions were in circulation in Italian, Danish, Dutch, Bohemian, Slavonic, Russian, Swedish, and the Valencian dialect of Spanish, long before we made any attempt to print an English Bible.

It should be stated, however, that another version of the Bible is referred to by William Caxton in the preface to his edition of Higden's "*Polychronicon*," where he states that John of Trevisa, at the request of Sir Thomas Lord Berkley, to whom he acted as chaplain, had translated the *Polychronicon*, the Bible, and *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomæus Anglicus. Of this Bible nothing is known unless, as Dr. Pollard suggests, it can be identified with the early or later Wiclifite version.

Mention should be made, also, of Caxton's translation of the "*Golden Legend*," which he published in 1483, and which may very properly be placed among the English Bibles, containing, as it does, a fairly literal translation into English from the Vulgate of nearly the whole of the Pentateuch, and a great part of the Gospels, mixed up with a good deal of mediæval gloss, under the guise of the lives of Adam, Abraham, Moses, the Apostles, and others. The book must have been read extensively by the people, or to the people, long before the days of Tindale and Coverdale, since numerous editions were printed during the latter years of the fifteenth century and the

early part of the sixteenth century. Hence this volume may be said to contain the earliest portion of the Bible printed in English.

On the Continent events were moving with wonderful rapidity. Indeed, it may be said that the events of the latter half of the fifteenth century are amongst the most remarkable which history has to record of any age. It was the century which witnessed the birth of the printing press, the discovery of the new world, and the revival of classical learning in Europe.

REVIVAL
OF LEARN-
ING.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Greek was almost unknown in Western Europe. A few scholars in the fourteenth century had sought to inspire a taste for Greek literature, but with little success. It was with the sudden collapse of the Eastern Empire in 1453, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, that the real revival of Greek learning took place.

Constantinople, from the time when the Emperor Constantine removed the seat of his empire from Rome to Byzantium, thereafter to be known as Constantinople, had become the centre of Greek culture. With the coming of the Turks the Greek scholars were driven into exile, carrying with them their treasured manuscripts. They sought a home, and found a welcome awaiting them in Italy at Venice, at Florence, and at Rome, where Cosmo de' Medici and Pope Nicholas the fifth rivalled each other in the patronage of learning.

The fame of these refugee scholars, who were able and willing to teach Greek, and give instruction in the original language of the New Testament, spread rapidly, with the result that students from all parts of Europe were attracted to this new centre of Greek culture. It may be said, therefore, that the event which sounded like the death knell of Christianity in Europe was, in reality, the cause of its revival, for as one writer has forcefully said of this event, "at the fall of Constantinople Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." It certainly brought to the West a knowledge of the New Testament in the original tongue—the language which had been denounced in England by the Church authorities as the language of pagans and heretics.

England was slow to welcome this new learning, and it was not until the year 1491 that Greek was publicly taught in Oxford, whereas, at the University of Paris, a public teacher of the language had been appointed as early as 1458.

William Grocyn, the first teacher of Greek at Oxford, was one of a little band of Oxford scholars, including Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, William Lily, and later John Colet, who having been attracted to Italy by the fame of the Greek teachers, returned to the mother-country full of the new learning, which was to conduce to a better education in the schools and colleges.

John Colet, a young scholar not yet in priest's orders, afterwards to become famous as the Dean of St. Paul's, and as the founder of St. Paul's School, reading for the first time ^{COLET.} the New Testament in the original tongue, became so fired with enthusiasm, that he began to proclaim his good news at Oxford, by lecturing on the Epistles of St. Paul. He was listened to, we are told, with breathless interest, even by the great dons, for his manner of lecturing was so novel, he had so much love in his work, and his words flowed with such ease and grace, that none could tire even though they might disagree. The fame of his lectures spread, not only throughout England, but to the Continent, attracting from Rotterdam that subtle, "great little Dutchman" Erasmus, who subsequently became the great literary 'autocrat of Europe.

Erasmus himself tells us that his religious opinions were to a large extent moulded by his intercourse with Colet, and ^{ERASMUS.} although in after years we are inclined to blame him for his vacillation and timidity, we are compelled to acknowledge the great service which he rendered to the cause of religion in Europe in general, and to this country in particular, by the influence which his lectures had upon the life and character of those of his scholars who were to carry forward to its accomplishment the mighty movement of the Reformation.

Thomas More, afterwards to become famous as Chancellor of Cambridge University, and Lord Chancellor of England, was also attracted to Oxford by the fame of Colet's lectures, and there commenced a life-long friendship with Erasmus. More, Archbishop Wareham, and Bishop Fisher became the patrons of this famous Dutch scholar, and it was through their influence that some twelve years later, in or about the year 1511, he was appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and later lectured also on Greek.

The teaching of Erasmus, at this time, was revolutionary in the extreme, and gave great offence to the Church authorities. He

contended that men should no longer study theology in Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, but should go to the Fathers of the Church, and above all to the New Testament. He showed that the Vulgate swarmed with faults, and he rendered an immense service to the truth by publishing his critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, accompanied by a new Latin translation.

This first published Greek New Testament reached England, from Basle, in 1516. In bare justice to the printer, John Froben, of Basle, it should be explained that the credit for this project belongs to this enterprising printer. It came about in this way: Froben became aware that the New Testament volume of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, which had been prepared and printed through the exertions, and at the expense of the learned Spanish Cardinal Ximenes, at Alcala, was ready for issue in 1514, but that for some reason, authority to circulate it was withheld. This Bible takes its name from Complutum, the Latin form of Alcala, the town in Spain, where it was printed. The plan of the work was conceived in 1502, in honour of the birth of the future Emperor Charles V, but it does not appear to have been in circulation until 1522. Desirous of anticipating the edition of Alcala, Froben wrote to Erasmus, requesting him to prepare an edition of the Greek text, accompanied by a new Latin translation, with all possible dispatch. The work was commenced in April, 1515, and was printed and ready for circulation by April of the following year.

One of the results of this hurried execution of the work was that it contained many faults, and in consequence its critical value was impaired. A revised edition appeared in 1519, and a third edition in 1522.

This work of Erasmus and Froben was for the learned. It was for a Luther and a Tindale to make use of the work of such men as Erasmus, and translate it into the language of the people.

Without doubt it was this work of Erasmus that first suggested to William Tindale his noble design of translating the Word of God into the language of his countrymen. The following passage drawn from the "Paraclesis ad lectorem pium" or "Exhortation," prefixed by Erasmus to his New Testament, finds an echo in one of the most memorable utterances of Tindale. This "Exhortation" was translated into English, probably by William Roye, and printed at

Marlborow (now known to have been Antwerp) in 1529, under the title: "An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture." We quote from the English translation :—

"And trulye I do greatly dissent from those men/whiche wold not that the scripture of Christ shuld be trāslated in to all tonges/that it might be reade diligently of the private and seculare men and women/ Other as though Christ had taught soch darke and insensible thinges/that they could scante be vnderstonde of a few divines. Or els as though the pithe and substance of the Christen religion consisted chiefly in this y^t it be not knowne. Peraventure it were moste expedient that the counceles of kinges shuld be kept secret/but Christ wold that his councelles and misteries shuld be sprede abroad as moch as is possible. I wold desire that all women shuld reade the gospell and Paules epistles/and I wold to God they were translated in to the tonges of all men/So that they might not only be read/and knowne/of the scotes and yryshmen/But also of the Turkes and sarracenes./Truly it is one degre to good livīge/yee y^e first (I had almoste sayde the cheffe) to have a litle sight in y^e scripture/though it be but a grosse knowledge/ād not yet cōsūmatte. (Be it in case that some wold laugh at it/yee and that some shuld erre and be deceived [or, some would be won]) I wold to god/y^e plowmā wold singe a texte of the scripture at his plowbeme/And that the wever at his lowme/with this wold drive away the tediousnes of tyme. I wold the wayfaringe man with this pastyme/wold expelle the werynes of his iorney. And to be shorte I wold that all the communication of the christen shuld be of the scripture/for in a maner soch are we our selves/as our daylye tales are."

Turning now to the man, who more than any other, has left the impress of his scholarship and character upon the history of our national Bible, we find that the birth and early life of William Tindale are involved in obscurity and uncertainty. TINDALE.

Great characters have not infrequently been raised from an obscurity which has baffled all research. The lives of the greatest saints are little more than legends, whilst of the great master minds of the past a few pages will often contain all that can authentically be told. This is precisely what has happened in the case of Tindale.

Tradition says he was born at North Nibley in Gloucestershire, where a monument has been erected to his memory, but no documentary evidence to support the tradition can be discovered. The honour is also claimed for Hurst Manor, Slimbridge, with perhaps more probability, although, here again, there is as yet no direct evidence to establish the claim. It is at least interesting, however, to find that the church living at Slimbridge was, and is still, in the gift of Magdalen

College, Oxford, and that it was at Magdalen Hall young Tindale was entered, when the time came for him to go up to Oxford. There is little doubt that Gloucestershire was his native county, a county which was held to be the very stronghold of the Church, having six mitred abbeys within its borders, and possessing the most famous relic in the kingdom: "The Blood of Hailes," said to be the blood of Christ, contained in a phial, preserved in the Abbey of Hailes, near Winchcombe, the sight of which was supposed to ensure eternal salvation; and so predominant was the influence of the clergy throughout the county that "as sure as God is in Gloucester" had come to be a familiar proverb all over England. Nowhere, probably, was religion more entirely a thing of form and ceremony; and of all these ceremonies, in many cases unmeaning, and in not a few grotesque and ridiculous, young Tindale, shrewd and thoughtful from his childhood, was no inattentive observer. When at a subsequent period he directed all the energy of his pen against the superstitious practices sanctioned by the Church, his recollection of what he had witnessed around him in his youth furnished him with endless illustrations with which to point his arguments.

The same degree of obscurity hangs over the precise year of Tindale's birth, and also over his parentage. Could the former be ascertained with certainty, it would help us to fix definitely the latter question. Tindale, himself, was very cautious of ever saying anything respecting his relatives, lest they should become involved in the pitiless storm of persecution to which he was subjected. His younger brother, John, did actually become involved, in consequence of letters passing between our translator and him, which he failed to deliver up to the authorities.

Among various legends afloat regarding Tindale's family, one is to the effect that they came from the North during the Wars of the Roses, and for a time adopted, probably for purposes of concealment, the name of Hitchins, variously spelt Hotchyns, Hytchyns, Huchens and Hychyns. In Boase and Clarke's "Register of the University of Oxford" (1885), our translator is entered under the name of William Huchens or Hychyns, and we shall find that in a certain number of documents, to which we shall have occasion to refer, he is frequently referred to as "William Hichyns sometimes called William Tindale." In the introduction to the first edition (1528) of his "The Obedience

of a Christian Man," Tindale describes himself in the opening lines as : "William Hychins unto the Reader." The name of Hitchens was afterwards abandoned, and the family resumed their old and rightful one of Tindale.

Various years from 1484 to 1495 have been conjectured as the year of Tindale's birth. If we adopt a year midway between the two, it would make him about forty-five at the time of his death, which would agree with John Foxe's description of him as middle-aged at that period.

At an early age Tindale was sent to the University of Oxford, where he imbibed something of Colet's spirit of enthusiasm, and the new principles with which he impregnated the scholars of his own and the succeeding generations. He was entered at Magdalen Hall, at that time a dependency of Magdalen College, and governed by one of the Fellows of that Society. It became an independent Hall in 1602, and was dissolved in 1874, when it was incorporated as Hertford College. John Foxe in his "Acts and monuments of the latter and perillous dayes touching matters of the Church . . ." (1563), tells us of Tindale that : "by long continuance at the University he grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted." Having proceeded to the degrees of the schools (according to the "Register of the University of Oxford" he took his B.A. degree in 1513, and proceeded to his M.A. in 1515 or 1516), Tindale removed from Oxford to Cambridge, attracted, it is thought, by the fame of the teaching of Erasmus, who for several years, commencing in 1511, was teaching Greek and Divinity at the sister University, where, as Foxe tells us, our translator : "further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word." Here no doubt he perfected himself in Greek, for on his arrival in London, in 1523, he was in a position to produce proof of his qualifications as a translator. He himself tells us in the prologue, "W. T. to the Reader," prefixed to his translation of the Pentateuch (1530), that he brought with him "an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of Greke in to English."

It was during Tindale's residence at Cambridge that Erasmus's Greek Testament was published, and was eagerly welcomed by the students. It is scarcely credible to-day that, at that time, candidates

for the priesthood were forbidden by order of Convocation to translate any part of the Scriptures, or to read them without the authority of the Bishop, an authority which was seldom granted. Yet, in defiance of these orders Tindale and a few of the bolder spirits at the University ventured to read the Bible privily.

In the year 1521, Tindale left Cambridge to act as chaplain to Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury, Gloucester, and as tutor to his children. There, around the table of Sir John Walsh, who was a very hospitable man, keeping open house, Tindale came into contact with many of the church dignitaries of the neighbourhood, which, we are told, swarmed with priests. Much learned talk took place around Sir John's hospitable board, and the young chaplain often came into violent controversy with the "divers great beneficed men, as abbots, deans, archdeacons, and other divers doctors and learned men who resorted thither." Tindale never hesitated to express his own opinions, which often differed from those of his master's guests, and, in order to refute their errors, he would confront them with the appropriate "open and manifest Scripture." This matter of fact way of dealing with their arguments gave great offence to these divines, and they bore Tindale a secret grudge.

One day Lady Walsh, who had listened to these hot arguments, took Tindale aside, and said to him: "Master Tindale is it reasonable, think you, that we should accept your opinions rather than the opinions of these learned men? You are a young man fresh from the University, they are men of learning and experience." Tindale felt the force of the rebuke, and at once set to work to translate from Latin into English, a little book, written by Erasmus in 1501, entitled "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," or, "The Manual of a Christian Knight," which was a bold outspoken protest against the wicked lives of the monks and friars. Here was the authority for his views, no less an authority than his master and spiritual guide, the learned Erasmus; surely this would convince those who had refused to be persuaded by his own arguments, and by Scripture. This he presented to his master and lady, and we are told that after they had read the book, "those great prelates were no more so often called to the house, nor, when they came, had the cheer and countenance as they were wont to have; the which they did well perceive, and that it was by the means and incensing of Master Tindale, and at last came no more there."

It was about this time that Tindale first announced his intention of translating the Bible into English. Happening one day to fall into argument with one of the reputed learned divines, who, in the heat of disputation, was led to assert: "We were better be without God's laws than the Pope's," Tindale startled those around him by declaring: "I defy the Pope and all his laws . . . if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest." These words were probably suggested to Tindale by that striking passage in Erasmus's "Exhortation" to his edition of the Greek-Latin Testament already quoted (p. 560).

It soon became evident to Tindale that Little Sodbury would no longer serve as a safe retreat for one who gave utterance to such views, and that the work of translation could not be carried out there. He resolved, therefore, to leave Little Sodbury and remove to London, in the hope of finding a sympathetic and liberal patron in the person of the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstall), whose great learning had been praised by Erasmus.

Furnished with letters of introduction by Sir Thomas Walsh to Sir Harry Guildford, the King's controller of the Royal Household, who was requested to intercede with the Bishop on his behalf, and with an earnest of his scholarship in the form of a translation of one of the orations of Isocrates, Tindale made his way to London in the middle of 1523. Arrived there, he presented himself at the Bishop of London's palace, only to learn from the Bishop himself that his house was full, and to be advised to seek a service in London. To quote Tindale's own words: "And so in London I abode almost one year, . . . and understood at the last, not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England."

TINDALE IN
LONDON.

Here was the testing time, and here shines forth the personality which has so unalterably moulded the English Bible. If the work could only be done in exile, in secret and in peril of life, these were but potent reasons why it should be done, and done quickly.

During this year of anxious waiting in London, Tindale obtained a curacy at St. Dunstan's in the West, in Fleet Street, and was soon attracting great crowds, who came to hear this young priest, who

spoke so plainly that all could understand. He found a home in the house of Humphrey Monmouth, a cloth merchant of London, who proved himself at the time, and also in after years, a zealous and loving friend. When at last compelled to renounce the hope of carrying out this self-imposed task of translating the New Testament in England, Tindale did not hesitate to give up his country in favour of his work.

In the month of May, 1524, Tindale left London for Hamburg, and there, during a residence of little more than a year, he completed his translation of the New Testament. Of TINDALE IN
HAMBURG. his movements during that period nothing is definitely known. Nor do we know exactly what he accomplished. Sir Thomas More in his "Dyaloge" asserts that: "Tindale, as soon as he got him hence got him to Luther straight," and further adds that, at the time of his translation of the New Testament, he was with Luther at Wittemberg; and that the confederacy between him and Luther was a thing well known. Tindale, in his reply, simply denies that he was confederate with Luther, and all the evidence we possess is against such a visit having been paid.

John Foxe in his "Lyfe and Martyrdome of John Frith"¹ (1573) tells us that: "William Tindale first placed himselfe in Germany and there did first translate the Gospel of St. Mathewe into Englishe, and after, the whole new testament." This mention of Matthew, by itself, certainly appears to imply some distinction, but as Christopher Anderson in his "Annals" has pointed out, the real state of the case was that Tindale not only "first translated Matthew," but printed it, and the Gospel of Mark also. Both of these were bitterly denounced at the beginning of 1527, after having been read, as a publication not only separate from the New Testament and its prologue, but as printed previously.

This view seems to find confirmation in a number of documents which, fortunately, have been preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. In a letter from Robert Ridley, chaplain to Bishop Tunstall, to Henry Gold, dated the 24 February, 1527, in which Tindale is referred to as "William Hichyns, otherwise called William Tyndale"; in the Confession of John Robert Necton, and in a Confession of John Tyball, a Lollard charged with heresy, both

¹ "The Whole Workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith . . ." London, 1573.

printed in Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials," reference is made again and again to separate editions of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, with commentaries and annotations, which are described as "the first prents." There is also a reference to the preface in the "second prents," which may allude to a second edition of these separate gospels. These, and other statements and confessions, were made by people who had actually seen, handled, or possessed such copies.¹

Unfortunately, not a single copy, or even the fragment of a copy, of these "first prents" is at present known to have survived. This need not surprise us, for in the eager search for the Scriptures, with a view to their being destroyed, they may sometimes have been given up to save a Testament. There can be little doubt, however, that we have in these Gospels Tindale's earliest effort to benefit his countrymen.

Having completed the translation of the New Testament, with the help of William Roye, who for some time acted as his amanuensis, Tindale, in the latter half of 1525, found his way to Cologne, a town famous for its printers, where he entered into an arrangement with Peter Quentell to print his New Testament. Here we are on firm ground, thanks to the letters left by Johann Dobneck, or as he called himself Cochlaeus, one of the bitterest and fiercest enemies of the Reformation, who was at the time living in exile at Cologne, engaged in literary work. He triumphantly records his success in embarrassing, and in partly frustrating Tindale's work. He has left three accounts of his exploit, written respectively in 1533, 1538, and 1549. The last, which is the fullest, is contained in his "Commentaria . . . de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri . . ." (1549). "Becoming pretty intimate and familiar with the Cologne printers, one day he heard them boasting confidently over their wine, that whether the King and Cardinal of England liked it or not, all England would soon be Lutheran. He heard also that there were in hiding two Englishmen learned, skilled in languages, and

TINDALE
AT
COLOGNE.

¹ The documents to which we refer, together with many others of great interest, have been collected into a volume by Dr. A. W. Pollard, and published under the title: "Records of the English Bible: documents relating to the translation and publication of the Bible in English: 1525-1611" (1911). In the publication of this volume Dr. Pollard has rendered to students of the history of our national Bible an inestimable service.

Ther prologge.



Haue here translated

(brethern and sisters moost dert and tenderly beloved in Christ) the new Testament for youre spirituall edifyinge/consolacion/and solace:

Exhortynge instantly and besedynge those that are better sene in the tonge then y/ and that have hyer gyst of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture / and meanynge of the spirite then y/ to consydre and ponde my laboure / and that with the spirite

of mekenes. And yf they perceyve in any places that y have not attayned the very sence of the tonge / or meanynge of the scripture / or have not geven the right englysshe worde / that they put to here handes to amende it/remembrynge that so is there duetic to doo. For we have not receyved the gyst of god for oure selues only/or for to hyde them: but for to bestowe them vnto the honouringe of god and christ/and edifyinge of the congregacion / whiche is the body of christ.

The causes that moved me to translate / y thought better that others shulde ymagien/then that y shulde rehearce them. Moreover y supposed yt superfluous / for who ys so blynde to are why lyght shulde be shewed to them that walke in dercknes / where they cannot but stamble/and where to stamble ys the daunger of eternall dammacion / ether so despyghtfull that he wolde envye any man (y speake nott his brother) so necessary a thinge / or so bedlam madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cause of ynell / and darfnes to proccede oute of lyght / and that lyinge shulde be grounde in trouthe and veritie / and nott rather clene contrary / that lyght destroyeth dercknes/and veritie reproveth all manner lyinge.

A 6

The gospel of S. Mathew.

The first Chapter.



hys ys the boke of

the generaciō of Iesus Christ the sonne of David / The sonne also of Abraham

¶ Abraham begatt Isaac: Chā.

Isaac begatt Jacob:

Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre: (thren:

and Zaram of thamar:

Phares: egatt Esrom:

Esrom begatt Aram:

Aram begatt Aminadab:

Aminadab begatt naassan:

Naasson begatt Salmon:

Salmon begatt boos of rahab:

Boos begatt obed of ruf:

Obed begatt Jesse:

Jesse begatt david the kynge:

¶ David the kynge begatt Solomon / of her that was the (wyfe of dary:

Solomon begatt roboam:

Roboam begatt Abia:

Abia begatt asa:

Asa begatt iosaphat:

Josaphat begatt Joram:

Joram begatt Osias:

Osias begatt Joatham:

Joatham begatt Achas:

Achas begatt Ezechias:

Ezechias begatt Manasses:

Manasses begatt Amen:

Amen begatt Josias:

Josias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of the captivite of babilen

¶ After they were led captive to babilen / Jechonias begatt

* Abraham and David are first rehearsed / because that churche was chiefly promysed vnto them.

Saynet mathew leueth out certen yne generacions / 2 describeth Churistes linage from solomon / after the lawe of Moyses / but Lucas describeth it accordyng to nature / fro nathan solomons brother. For the last we calleth them a mannes childre which his broder begatt of his wyfe lestre behende hym after his dede the .xv. c.

ready of speech, whom, however, he could never see nor speak to. Dobneck therefore asked certain printers to his inn, and, after he had warmed them with wine, one of them in confidential talk revealed to him the secret by which England was to be brought over to the side of Luther, namely, that there were in the press three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament translated into English, and that in the order of the quires they had got as far as letter K. . . ." In other words, the work had progressed a little beyond the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, filling ten quires of eight pages each, or eighty pages in all. The identity of the two Englishmen (Tindale and Roye, his amanuensis) seems to have been unknown to Cochlaeus at that time.

This English translation, Cochlaeus tells us, was brought to Cologne by the two Englishmen that it might be multiplied by the printers into many thousands, and concealed among other merchandise, might find a way into England. So great was their confidence that they had sought to have 6,000 copies printed, but through the timidity of the printers only 3,000 were issued. The expense, says Cochlaeus, was met by English merchants, who had also engaged to convey the work secretly into England, and to diffuse it widely over the country.

On receiving this information Cochlaeus lost no time in revealing the plot to Hermann Rinck, a nobleman of Cologne, well-known to King Henry VIII, and to the Emperor Charles V, who, having convinced himself of the correctness of the account received, went to the Senate, and obtained an interdict of the work. News of this action by the Senate reached Tindale's ears, who at once, in company with Roye, rushed to the printers: "snatching away with them the quarto sheets printed, fled by ship, going up the Rhine to Worms, where the people were under the full rage of Lutheranism, that there by another printer they might complete the work begun."

Worms was a city in every way suitable for Tindale's purpose. It was the headquarters of Lutheranism, where four years earlier Luther had triumphantly defended his doctrines before Charles V, whereas Cologne was devoted to the Roman faith.

TINDALE
AT WORMS.

Here, the work commenced and interrupted at Cologne, was recommenced at the press of Peter Schoeffer, the son of Gutenberg and Fust's companion at Mainz. It is impossible to say whether the

quarto edition commenced at Cologne was ever completed. It is thought that it was abandoned, and the edition in a smaller octavo size, without the prologue, sidenotes, or glosses was commenced, in order, according to Merle d'Aubigné, to mislead the inquisitors.

If the two editions had been set up from the same manuscript copy we should have expected the texts to be identical. Such, however, is not the case. It is true that the differences between the two are very slight, yet there are differences. We cannot collate the whole Testament, but a careful collation of the Grenville fragment of the Cologne quarto, with the corresponding portion of the octavo Worms edition reveals the fact that there are not only numerous variations in orthography, but fifty differences of text in 740 verses. Many of these are of very little consequence, but some of them show the hand of the careful reviser, in the manner of omitting unnecessary words, or of improving the style. If they were both set up from the same manuscript copy, it is obvious that Tindale subjected the text to a very thorough scrutiny and revision in proof, as it passed through the press.

By a piece of good fortune a single copy, consisting of eight of the ten sheets, lacking only the first leaf, of the Cologne quarto has been preserved, and is now in the British Museum, forming part of the bequest of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville.

The story of the discovery, or recovery, and identification of this fragment will bear repetition. In 1836, Mr. Thomas Rodd, a bookseller, of Great Newport Street, London, acquired from a friend, by way of exchange, a quarto tract of *Oecolampadius* which had bound up with it some black-letter sheets in English. These, upon examination, proved to be part of St. Matthew's Gospel preceded by fourteen pages of a prologue. Neither Mr. Rodd, nor his friend, understood at the time what it actually was. By degrees this was ascertained, through the accidental discovery of the initial, with which the first page of the prologue is decorated, in another book printed at Cologne in 1534. As the result of further search Mr. Rodd succeeded in finding all the other cuts and letters in books printed at the office of Peter Quentell. The fragment was acquired by the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, the statesman, and book-lover; and at his death in 1846, it passed into the possession of the British Museum, with his splendid library of 20,000 volumes, which is now one of the

The fyrst pistle off

S. Peter the
Apostle.



The fyrst Chapter.

Peter an Apostle of Iesu
Christ to the that dwell here
where as straungers thorow
out/ Pontus/ Galacia/ Capa-
docia/ Asia/ and Bithynia/ eies
it by the forknowledge off God

thefather/ thorow the sanctifyinge off the spyr-
te/ vnto obedience and sprynklynge of the bloud
off Iesus Christ. Grace bewith you/ and pe-
ace be multiplied.

Secunde Cor. 1. Epistle

Blessed be God the father off our lord Iesu
Christ/ which thorow his abundant mer-
cie begat vs agayne vnto a lively hope/ by there
surreecion off Iesus Christ from deeth/ to enioy
pe an inheritaunce immortall/ and vndefiled/
and that puttifieth not/ reserved in heve for you
which are kept by the power off god thorowefa-
yth/ vnto helth/ which health is prepared all res-
dy to be shewed I the last tyme in the which tyme
ye shall reioyce/ though now we for a season (iffnes
de requyre) ye are in hevines/ thorow many fol-
detemptacions/ that youre sayth once tried be-
yng moche more precious then golde that peris-
sheth (though it be tried wyth fyre) myght be
founde vnto lawde/ glory/ and honoure/ when
Iesus Christ shall aperewhom ye have not sene

agains. 26.

■ To the Reder.

■ Wee diligence Reder (Exhortethe) that thou come with a pure mynde / and as the scripture sayth with a synge eye / vnto the wordes of heath / and of eternall lyfe: by the which (if we repent and beleve them) we are borne a newe / created a fresshe / and enioye the frutes off the blood of Christ. Whiche blood cryeth not for vengeance / as the blood of Abel: but hath purchased / lyfe / love / fauour / grace / blessinge and what soeuer is promysed in the scriptures / to them that beleve and obeye God: and stondeith bitwene vs and wrathe / vengeance / curse / and what soeuer the scripture threateneth agaynst the vnbelevers and disobedient / which resist / and consent not in their hartes to the lawe of god / that it is ryght / wholy / iuste / and ought so to be.

■ Marke the playne and manyfest places of the scriptures / and in doutfull places / set thou adde no interpretaciō contrary to them: but (as Paul sayth) let all be conformable and agreynge to the

■ Note the difference of the lawe / and (sayth. of the gospel. The oneareth and requyret / the woether pardoneth and forgiveth. The one threateneth / the woether promyseth all good thyngs / to them that sett their trust in Christ only. The gospel signifieth gladde tydyngs / and is nothinge butt the promyses off good thynges. All is not gospel that is writte in the gospel boke: For if the lawe were a waye / thou couldest not know what the gospel meante. Even as thou couldest not see pardon / fauour / and grace / excepte the lawe rebuked the / and declared vnto thy the sinne / mysdede / and trespass.

■ Repent and beleve the gospel as sayth Christ

glories of the national institution, of which for many years he was a Trustee.

By the end of the year 1525 some thousands of copies of the Testaments printed at Worms were ready for distribution, and without doubt in two sizes.

DISTRIBUTION
OF
THE TESTA-
MENT.

Unfortunately, no copy of the Worms quarto edition has come down to us, and therefore, as we have already remarked, it is quite impossible to determine whether it was an edition incorporating and completing the sheets printed at Cologne, or an entirely new edition with glosses. We are disposed to favour the latter view, which the following documentary evidence seems to confirm.

Cochlæus makes definite reference to a quarto edition published at Worms, and speaks of 6000 copies printed in that city, which renders it probable that both the quarto and the octavo editions, like the projected Cologne quarto, consisted of 3000 copies each.

Furthermore, we have the evidence of Humphrey Monmouth, the London friend of Tindale, who was no doubt in constant communication with our translator at this time. In his answer to the twenty-four articles of heresy charged against him,¹ he states “. . . Tindale left Hamburg for Cologne in the summer of 1525. He probably stayed not long there ; but being discovered he escaped with Roye up the Rhine, and came to Worms about September, 1525 ; and then and there, working unremittingly, the actual translation being probably already finished, saw the two editions through the press by the end of the year.”

In other documents, to be found reprinted in Dr. Pollard's "Records of the English Bible," there are constant references to "copies with gloss," "the gret volume," "of the biggest," which evidently refer to a quarto edition ; whilst references to "copies without gloss," and "the smal volume" must indicate the octavo edition. On the 24 October, 1526, Bishop Tunstall in an injunction to the Archdeacons, denounced both impressions "some with glosses, others without," and on the 3 November following, Archbishop Wareham did the same, in almost identical terms.

In addition to the warnings of Cochlaeus and Rinck, there came to the King and Cardinal Wolsey other tidings of this threatened

¹ Strype : "Ecclesiastical Memorials" (1822), I. pt. 2, pp. 363-7.

invasion of England by the Word of God. Writing to the King, in December, 1525, Edward Lee, the King's Almoner, who became Archbishop of York in 1531, states that he "learns that an Englishman hath translated the Newe Testament in to English, and within a few days entendeth to arrive with the same emprinted in England."

The King and Wolsey did everything in their power to defeat this invasion. Fortunately, the enterprise of the merchants was more than a match for the power of the sovereign and the hostility of the bishops, and in spite of all warning and precautions the Word of God was smuggled into England, by being packed in the centre of bales of cotton and other merchandise, and were widely circulated to the joy and comfort of many who had long walked in darkness.

One of the chief agents for the distribution of the Testaments in England was Simon Fyshe, the author of "The Supplycacion for the Beggars," described as born of noble stock, a gentleman of Grays Inn, who lived in Whitefriars, London, and was busily engaged in superintending the sale of the New Testaments, which he had received from Richard Harman, a merchant of the English factory at Antwerp. In a confession made in London, apparently in 1528, by Robert Necton we have precise and interesting evidence as to this distribution. He states that he bought at sundry times of Mr. Fyshe many New Testaments, now five now twenty, and sometimes more and sometimes less to the number of 20 or 30 "in the gret volume." In a later part of the confession he goes on to say: that he (Fyshe) had no New Testaments or other book, except "Chapters of Matthew." He also gives us information as to the price at which the New Testaments were being sold, by stating that he sold five for seven and eight grotes a piece, i.e. two shillings and fourpence and two and eightpence, equal to twenty-eight and thirty-two shillings of our present day money.¹ To one of the indictments he replies that a certain Duche, i.e. German in the Flete, would have solde him two to three hundred copies, which were evidently offered at a bargain price of ninepence a piece, but he did not buy them.

¹ The purchasing power of money in the reign of Henry VIII, as compared with the present day, may be approximately determined by multiplying it twelve times. Hence £10 then would represent about £120 to-day.

Finding that, in spite of all the precautions, the Testaments and other heretical books were being circulated throughout England, Wolsey took steps to suppress the seditious books. To this end a simultaneous search was made, and all copies were ordered by the Cardinal and Archbishop Wareham to be given up. At the same time the Bishop of Rochester (Fisher) was charged to preach at St. Paul's Cross, denouncing the books as replete with dangerous heresies, and at the conclusion of the sermon, at which Wolsey was present, surrounded by a great company of abbots, friars, and bishops, great baskets of the heretical books were brought out and burned. This first sermon, which was preached on the 11th of February, 1526, was followed by another in October of the same year, at which the Bishop of London (Tunstall) was the preacher, when the Tindale Testaments were denounced and publicly burnt. It was on the latter occasion that the people were told that there were three thousand errors in the translation, which, for the most part, are nothing more than so many new meanings attached to old words.

A confused rumour of this burning seems to have reached Rome, and there is extant a letter written by Cardinal Campeggio to Wolsey, under date of the 21 November, 1526, in which he praises Wolsey's diligence, in the glorious and saving work being carried on in this kingdom for the protection of the Christian religion, and that to the great praise and glory of his Majesty, he had most justly caused to be burned a copy of the Holy Bible, which had been mistranslated into the common tongue by the faithless followers of Luther's abominable sect, to pervert the pious mind of simple believers, and had been brought into this kingdom. Assuredly no burnt offering could be more pleasing to Almighty God.

These denunciations and burnings of the New Testaments seem to have had the very opposite effect to that aimed at. They were the means of calling attention to it, and of stimulating interest in it, to such an extent that the demand for copies increased; and one printer, apparently Christoffel van Endhoven, of Antwerp, was encouraged to issue at least one unauthorised edition, in the course of 1526. He was in trouble about it with the city authorities by the end of that year, and in 1531 died in prison at Westminster, as a result of trying to sell Testaments in England.

Wolsey was determined to strike terror to the heart of the enemy,

and so rigorously were his orders carried out that only one fragment of the Cologne quarto, and two copies of the Worms octavo edition have survived. The former, as we have already stated, is preserved in the British Museum. Of the latter, the most complete of the two copies, apparently wanting only one leaf, is in the Baptist College, Bristol, the other, wanting about seventy leaves, is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral.

The history of the Baptist College copy is told by Mr. Francis Fry in the introduction to "The First New Testament printed in the English Language. . . . Reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by F. Fry," Bristol, 1862.

The Testament was picked up by one of Lord Oxford's collectors, and was esteemed so valuable a purchase that he gave ten pounds for it, and settled an annuity of twenty pounds for life upon the fortunate discoverer. Soon after Lord Oxford's death in 1741, the famous collection of printed books, better known as "the Harleian collection," numbering about 50,000 volumes, was sold to Thomas Osborne, the bookseller of Gray's Inn, for about thirteen thousand pounds. Osborne marked the Testament at fifteen shillings, at which price it was purchased by Herbert Ames; and at the sale of the latter's books in 1760, it was acquired by John White for twenty guineas. On the 13 May, 1776, White sold it to the Rev. Dr. Gifford for twenty guineas. Dr. Gifford was an assistant librarian in the British Museum from 1757 until his death in 1784, when the Testament passed by bequest, with his valuable collection of books, manuscripts, pictures, and curios, to the Baptist College, where it has since remained, rightly regarded as the priceless and most treasured of the possessions of the College.

Still more was needed to be done, in the estimation of the Cardinal, if this evil was to be arrested, and part of the general scheme of attack seems to have been the buying up of all the copies of the "pestilent" New Testaments upon which they could lay their hands. Bishop Tunstall went so far as to commission a London merchant, named Packington, who traded to Antwerp, to buy up all the copies he could find in that city. Here is the story as told by Edward Halle in his "Chronicle" (1548-1550).

"The Bishop, desirous to have his purpose brought to pass, communed of the New Testaments, and how gladly he would buy them,

Packington, then, hearing that he wished for, said unto the Bishop, 'My Lord if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter do more, I dare say, than most of the merchants of England that are here; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure to pay for them (for otherwise I cannot come by them but I must disburse money for them), I will then assure you to have every book of them that is imprinted and is here unsold.' The Bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, when indeed he had, as after he thought, the Devil by the fist, said, 'Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and with all my heart I will pay for them whatsoever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at St. Paul's Cross.' Augustine Packington came to William Tindale, and said, 'William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends and beggared thyself; and I have now gotten thee a merchant which with ready money shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it so profitable for yourself.' 'Who is the merchant?' said Tindale. 'The Bishop of London,' said Packington. 'Oh, that is because he will burn them,' said Tindale. 'Yea, marry,' quoth Packington. 'I am the gladder,' said Tindale, 'for these two benefits shall come thereof: I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's Word, and the overplus of the money that shall remain to me shall make me more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like you than ever did the first.' And so, forward went the bargain; the Bishop had the books; Packington had the thanks; and Tindale had the money.

"After that Tindale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold into England. When the Bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, 'How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.' Then answered Packington, 'Surely I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps [for printing with]: wherefore you were best, to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure,' at which answer the Bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

"In short space after, it fortuneed that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More . . . suspected of certain heresies. . . . Master More amongst other things, asked Constantine . . . 'There is beyond the sea Tindale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money . . . I pray thee, tell me, who be they that keep them thus?' 'My Lord,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly, it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them;

and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same, for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it.'"

Archbishop Wareham was also very active in buying up, through his agents abroad, all the New Testaments he could possibly obtain. Having completed the purchases, and apparently believing that he had bought up the whole of the *three* editions by this time in existence, the Archbishop issued, on the 26 May, 1527, a circular letter to his suffragan bishops, soliciting contributions towards these expenses, which we find, from a reply from the blind Bishop of Norwich (Nix), amounted to £997, according to our present day reckoning.

Before we follow Tindale in his wanderings on the Continent, after the publication of his New Testament, it will be well for us to pause and consider the merits of that which constitutes the translator's claim to the gratitude of the English-speaking people, for the issue of this Testament was an event of the utmost importance in the history of our country.

In the first place, however, let us enquire as to the extent of Tindale's dependence, if any, upon other versions. In his statement, or epilogue, which is to be found at the end of the Worms octavo Testament, entitled "To the Reader," Tindale clearly states: "I had no man to counterfet neither was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same, or soch lyke thîge ī the scripture before-tyme. . . ."

A careful examination of Tindale's version reveals the fact that he translated direct from the Greek, using as collateral helps the Vulgate, Erasmus's Greek-Latin Testament (1522), and Luther's German New Testament (1522).

LUTHER'S
INFLUENCE.

We have his assurance that he neither visited nor conferred with Luther, but a comparison of Luther's New Testament with that of Tindale, shows that our translator was greatly dependent upon Luther's version. The quarto fragment is the more important for the purpose of critical comparison, and we find that of Luther's general introduction, Tindale has transferred into his prologue no fewer than sixty lines, or nearly half. Of the 210 marginal references contained in the corresponding portion of Luther's version, and constituting the inner margins, Tindale has adopted 190. These not only stand against exactly the same chapters and verses, and form

The Gospell of

* The same.

Here Chyulte requirith faith/for where faith is not there is not the comaundment fulfilled: Ro. iiij. And all goode workes after owerwarde apperaunce with oure faith arsyn: contrarie wyse where faith is/there must the very goode werkes folowe. Chyulte callith here/doige: too doo with a pure herte. Actu. xv. And for the goodnes skodith fast agaisht all windes / that is too safe agaynst al the powre of hel/for hit is bilt on the rocke Chyulte / choorowe faith.

* In witnes. Moses callith the lawe a wytnes vnto the people. Deut. xxxi. for the lawe aculith vs/ is a testimonie agaynst oure syn. lyke wyse here/ yf the prestes bare recorde that Chyulte hadde clensthis leper/ yet beleuyd not/ the testified they agaisht themselves.

* wilt

* faith knoweth not trusterith i the fauour and goodnes of god

¶ Whosoever heareth of me these sayings/ and dor he the same/ I will lycken him vnto a wise man/ whych bilt his housse on a rocke: and aboundaunce of rayne descended / and the fluddys cam/ and the wyndys blew / and bett vppon that same housse / and it was not over throwen because it was grounded on the rocke. And whosoever heareth of me these sayings/ and doth not the same/ shalbe lykened vnto a folysh man: whych bilt his housse upon the sonde / and aboundaunce of rayne descended / and the fluddys cam/ and the wyndys blew / and bett vppon that house/ and it was over throwen/ and great was the fall of it.

¶ And it cam to passe / that when Iesus had ended these sayings/ the people were astonied at his doctryne. For he taught them as one havinge power/ and nott as the scribes/

The viij. Chapter.



When Iesus was come downe from the mountayne / moche people followed him. And lo/ there cam a lepre / and worshaped him saynge: master/ if thou wilt/ thou canst make me cleane. He putt forth his hond and reouchd him saynge: I will/ be cleane/ and immediatly his leprosy was clesed. And Iesus said vnto him. Set thou tell no man/ but go and shewe thy self to the preste and offer the gyfte/ that moyses comaunded to be offred * in witnes to them.

¶ When Iesus was entred into capernaum/ there cam vnto him a certayne Centurion/ besedhyng him/ and saynge: master/ my seruaunt lyeth sicke att home of the palsy/ and is grievously payned. And Iesus seyde vnto him: I will come and cure him. The Centurion answered and sayde: Syr/ I am not worthy/ that thou shuldest come vnder the rofe of my housse/ but speake the worde only/ and my seruaunt shalbe healed. For y also my selfe am a mā vnder power/ and have fordeci? vnder me/ and y sayeto one/ go/ and he goeth: and to an othere/

Mar. i.
Luc. v.

die wind / vnd stießen an das hawß / siel es doch nicht / denn es war auff eyn felszen gegrundet. Vnnd wer disse meyne rede hoeret / vnnd thut sie nitt / der ist eynem torichten mann gleych / der seyn hauß auff den sand bauet / da nu eyn platzrege siel / vnd kam eyn gewesser / vnd webeten die winde / vnd stießen an das hawß / da siel es / vnnd seyn fall war grossz.

Vnnd es begab sich / da Ihesus disse lere volendet hatt / entsatzte sich das volck vber seiner lere / denn er prediget gewalticklich / vnd nitt wie die schrifft gelehren.

Das acht Capitel.

Matth. 1.
Luc. 9. 5.

DA er aber vom berge herab gieng / solgte ihm viel volcks nach / vnd sihe / eyn außsetziger kam / vnd bettet ihn an / vnd sprach / Herr so du wilt / kanstu mich wol reynigen / vnd Ihesus streckt seyne hand auß / rurt ihn an / vnd sprach / Ich wills thun / sey gereynigt / vnd als bald wart er von seym außsatz reyn / vnnd Ihesus sprach zu ihm / sich zu / sags niemant / sonderm gannghyn vnnd tzeig dich dem priester / vnnd opffere die gabe / die Moses befolhen hat / zu eynem zeugnis vber sie.

Luc. 7.

Da aber Ihesus eyn gieng zu Capernaum / tratt eyn herobtmann zu ihm der bat ihn vnd sprach / Herr / meyn knecht ligt zu hause / vñ ist sickpruchtig / vnnd hat grosse quall / Ihesus sprach zu ihm / ich will komen / vnd ihn gesund machen. Der herobtmann antwort vñ sprach / Herr ich byn nit werth / das du vnter meyn dach gehist / sondern ich sprich nur eyn wort / so wirt meyn knecht gesund. Dann ich byn eyn mensch / darzu der vberkezt vnterthan / vñ habe vnter myr kriegs knecht / noch wenn ich sage zu eynem / gehe hy / so gehet er / vnd zum andern / kom her / so kompt er / vnnd zu meynem knecht / thu das / so thut ers. Da das Ihesus hoeret / verwundert er sich / vñ sprach zu den / die ihm nach solgeten / Warlich / ich sage euch / solchen glawbe hab ich yn Israhel nit funden. Aber ich sage euch / viel werden komen vom morgen vnd vom abent / vnd sitzen mitt Abraham vnnd Isaac vnnd Jacob / im hymel reich / Aber die kinder des reichs / werden außgestossen vnn die außersten finsterniss / da wirt seyn weynen vñ tzeen klappen. Vnd Ihesus sprach zu dem herobtmann / gehe hy / vñ dyr geschehe / wie du gesleubt hast / vnnd seynn knecht wart zu der selbigen stund gesund.

Matth. 1.
Luc. 4.

Vnd Ihesus kam ynn Peters hause / vñ sahe das seyne schwyster lag vnd hatte das fiber / da greyff er ihr hand an / vnnd das fiber verließ sie / vnnd sie stund auff / vnnd dienete ihn.

Matth. 1.

Am abent aber / brachten sie viel besessener zu ihm / vnnd er tzeig die geyster auß mitt Worten / vnnd machte alle kranken gesunde auff das erfüllet wurd / das da gesagt ist / durch den propheten Isaia / der do spricht / Er hatt vnser schwacheyt auff sich genomen / vnd vnser seuche hatt er getragen.

Vnd da Ihesus

was ist / müssen resch / gute werck folgen / das heysst / Liffst (thun) von reynem hertze thun. Der glawb aber reynigt das hertze. Act. 15. vnd solche frome eyt / steht vest vñ iber alle wind / das ist alle nach / der hellen / den sie ist auff den fels / Christu / durch den glawb / denn gebawet. Gute werck on glauben / seyn der reuchten lunt / frauen lampen on ole. (So du wilt) der glawb weys / nit / verratet aber auff gottes gnad.

(Über sie) Des ne net das gesetz ein zeugnis vber das volck / Wen. 31. den das gesetz beschuldigt vns / vnnd ist eyn zeug / vber vnser sund / also bie / die priester so sic zeugen / Christus hab dinsten gerichter vñ gleichen doch nicht / zeugen wider sich selb.

(weil ich sage) das ist. Sind meyne wort so machetig / wie viel machtiger sind den beyne wort.

(von morgen et.) das ist / die hepde werden an genomen / darumb das sie glawben werden / die luden vñ werck heiligen verwoissen. Ro. 9.

Johannis.



10.—A PAGE OF LUTHER'S FIRST "NEW TESTAMENT," SEPTEMBER, 1522

One of Cranach's Illustrations to the "Apocalypse"

identically the same groups, but without exception constitute the same inner margin as in Luther. Even more striking evidence of his dependence is obtained by a comparison of Luther's expository notes in the outer margin with those of Tindale, which occupy exactly the same position. Of the 69 glosses which Luther has on Matt. i. 1-xxii. 12, Tindale transferred into his margin no fewer than 59. The following specimens will illustrate this point :—

Luther.

(schweren) Alles schweren vnd eyden ist hie verpotten, das der mensch von yhm selber thutt, wens aber die lieb, nodt, nutz des nehisten, odder gottis ehre foddert, ist es wolthun, gleych wie, auch der zorn verpotten ist, vnd doch loblich wenn er aus liebe vnd zu gottes ehren, erfoddert wirt.—Matt. v. 33.

(nicht widder streben) das ist, niemand soll sich selb rechnen noch rach suchen, auch fur gericht, auch nicht rach begerē. Aber die vbirkeyt des schwerds sol solchs thun, vonn yhr selbs odder durch den nehisten aus lieb ermanet vnnd ersucht.—Matt. v. 39.

(seyn eygen vbel) das ist tegliche arbeyt, vnnd will, es sey genug das wir teglich arbeyten, sollen nicht weytter sorgen.—Matt. vi. 34.

Sew sind; die ersoffen ynn fleyschlichem lust, das wort nicht achten.—Matt. vii. 6.

Tyndale.

Swear. All swearynge & othes which a mā of him silffe doith, are here forbydē, never thelesse whē love, neade, thy neghbures proffyte, or goddes honoure requyrith hit, then is hit well done too swear. like as wrath forbydden is, & yet is lawdable whē hit procedith of love to honour god with all.

No man shuld avenge hyme silfe, or seke wreeke, no nott by the lawe: butt the ruler which hath the swearde shuld do such thynges of hym silfe, or when the negbures off love warne hym, and requyre hym.

Trouble, is the dayly labour. he wil hit be ynough that we labour dayly wyth oute forther care.

Swyne, are they which are drowned in fleshy luste & despice the worde.

This appropriation by Tindale of Luther's introduction, inner marginal references, and outer marginal glosses as well as of Luther's division of the text into paragraphs, and the very arrangement and appearance of the quarto Testament, render it a miniature edition of the German prototype, and would appear to justify the assertion of some of Tindale's contemporaries that he reproduced in English Luther's German Testament.

Since Tindale owed so much to Luther's Testament, it will not be out of place briefly to recall the circumstances connected with its

issue, and the influence which it exercised upon the movement for reform, not only in his own country but throughout Europe.

Luther, by the publication, in 1522, of his translation of the New Testament into the German vernacular did for Germany almost precisely what Tindale did three years later for England, and in doing so, gave a mighty impetus to the reformation in Europe.

Luther was not the first to translate any portion of the Bible into the vernacular German, for by the time that his New Testament was published, no fewer than fourteen different editions of the whole Bible in German had appeared, in addition to four others in Low German. These, however, were translated from the Latin Vulgate, and were issued in majestic, unwieldy and costly folio size, which placed them out of the reach of ordinary people. The earliest edition was issued in 1466 at Strassburg.

Luther's Testament was in a much handier size, although still in a small folio, and was issued at a price which placed it within the reach of people of more modest means. The cost of a copy was a florin and a half, or, in our money, thirty-six shillings.

Luther's translation was made, like that of Tindale, direct from the original Greek, with such collateral helps as Erasmus's second (1519) edition of his Greek-Latin Testament, and the earlier German versions. Indeed, it is not unlikely that Luther, again like Tindale, had been inspired to enter upon his self-imposed task by the passage already quoted from Erasmus's "Exhortation."

Luther's work won immediate popularity, and within four months a second edition was called for. Indeed, during the ensuing eleven years it was reprinted no fewer than eighty-five times.

No sooner had the New Testament made its appearance than Luther settled down to work upon the Old Testament, and towards the end of 1523 he issued the first two parts extending from Genesis to Esther. The first edition of his whole Bible was not issued until 1534 but it speedily became the most widely read book in Germany, and in a slightly revised form remains the classic version of Protestant Germany. It also exerted a commanding influence on the development and unification of the German language. To begin with, the editions of it which appeared in South Germany, required numerous dialectic changes, or explanations of words, to make them understood. A century later, however, Luther's High German was everywhere dominant, whilst Low German had sunk into a patois.

Luther's influence and fame as a translator was not by any means confined to his own country, for translations of the Bible, based upon his version, were made in various languages which are akin to German, such as : Dutch in 1526, Swedish in 1541, Icelandic in 1544 and Danish in 1550.

Turning again to the work of our own countryman, we find that the English Bible, with which we are so familiar, is in its form and substance the work of Tindale ; no other man has left the impress of his individuality and scholarship upon it. Neither did the scholars of King James's day, who were responsible for the Authorised Version, nor the Revisers of 1881, produce a new translation. Indeed, the many revisions undertaken since Tindale's day have been built one and all upon his version, which was taken and simply compared with the Greek and Hebrew texts.

TINDALE'S
INFLU-
ENCE.

There can be no better testimony to the value of Tindale's work, than that provided by the revisers of 1881, who admitted that the new version was still to all intents and purposes Tindale's work, and that eighty per cent. of the words in the Revised New Testament stand as they stood in Tindale's revised version of 1534, for they could not find in the English tongue more felicitous phrases than those employed by our translator.

Considered as a literary undertaking Tindale's work marks an epoch in the literary history of our country. As a master of English prose Tindale stands unrivalled. We often speak of what Shakespeare did for our language, forgetting that nearly a century before his day, at a time when our language was still unformed, when as yet it had not been made the vehicle of any important literary undertaking, Tindale proved to the world that it was possible to express the highest truths in the clearest manner with simplicity, and with grace, thus exercising a permanent influence of the most beneficial kind on the literary taste of the English-speaking people. That is what made the appeal immediate and widespread in Tindale's day, and that is what must keep it fresh and searching while the English tongue is spoken among men.

Of the purity of Tindale's motive we have ample evidence in the fact that the New Testament was issued without the translator's name. It was not intended to secure his fame. He had not laboured for money or for applause, but to quote his own words, in the preface to "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," was content patiently to abide the reward of the last day.

After the completion of the New Testament Tindale settled down to study Hebrew, in order to qualify himself to deal with the books of the Old Testament as he had done with those of the New. Hebrew was not studied at Oxford at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Robert Wakefield, the first Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, only commenced his lectures in 1524, the year Tindale quitted England. Many Jews were to be found in most of the old German towns, so that he would experience no difficulty in obtaining the necessary instruction.

In 1527 Tindale found it necessary to change his place of residence, possibly on account of Wolsey's vigorous efforts to get him into his power, removing from Worms to Marburg in Hesse-Cassel, where he spent the greater part of the four years following, leaving Marburg for Antwerp in 1531. Here, in the intervals of study, and work upon the Old Testament, he found time to issue the three principal doctrinal and controversial works which constitute his manifesto.

TINDALE'S
MANI-
FESTO.

The first to be published (in 1528) was "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon": an exposition of the parable of the Unjust Steward, in which the writer makes an attack on the so-called spirituality, which had taken away the key of knowledge, and had beggared the people. At the same time he expounds the doctrine of justification by faith. This work threw the Church authorities into a state of great rage, it was condemned on all sides, and it was held up to public detestation.

Tindale felt that this manifesto was insufficient, so he followed it up, in the same year, by "The Obedience of a Christian Man, and how Christian rulers ought to Govern: wherein also if thou mark diligently thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty conveyance of all jugglers." He knew that to teach the views he expressed could only be done at the risk of his life, but he was ready to dare all, if need be to die, in order to expose the infamy of the Church, and to set men free from the debasing teaching of its hideous hypocrisy. It is one thing to see the falseness of error, but it is not always so easy to see the trueness of the truth, and Tindale, not content to overthrow the hypocrisies of Rome, builds up a simple faith in the Gospel.

The bishops were now at their wits' end to know how to arrest the progress of this heresy. Ultimately, it was decided, that as the press had been instrumental in circulating the poison, it should be employed to circulate the antidote. Consequently,

MORE.

Sir Thomas More, at that time Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (he did not become Lord Chancellor of England until the 25 October, 1529), who was the greatest literary genius in England at that time, was requested to take up the pen and champion the cause of the Church. To that end, he was licensed on the 7th of March, 1528, by Bishop Tunstall, to have and to read Lutheran books, in order that he might confute them: "For as much, as you, dearly beloved brother, can playe the Demosthenes, both in this our Englyshe tongue and also in the Latin." More immediately set to work, and before the end of the year he had published his "Dyalogue," the first instalment of his long controversy, in which he attacked not only Tindale, but Barnes, Frith, and Sir John Some. Here he declares that whosoever calleth the new translations, the New Testament, calleth it by a wrong name, except they call it Tindale's Testament, or Luther's Testament.

This literary combat between Tindale and More lasted for five years, but in the end Tindale won, for as More himself confessed: as brevity is the soul of wit it is also the essence of retort, and a confutation ten times the length of the work it is intended to demolish is a failure.

In 1529, Tindale having completed his translation of Deuteronomy, was desirous of getting it printed at Hamburg. He took ship, but was shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, losing everything, and escaping only with his life. Finding another ship he proceeded to Hamburg, where he encountered Miles Coverdale, a fugitive like himself for the cause of religion, who assisted him to repair his loss in translating the whole of the Pentateuch. Having completed his business he proceeded to Antwerp.

TINDALE'S
PENTA-
TEUCH.

It was in 1530-1531 that the Pentateuch was printed. The colophon of the Book of Genesis reads: "Emprented at Marlborow [or Marburg] in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans Luft, the yere of our Lorde, M.CCCCC.XXX the XVII. dayes of Januarii."—Hans Luft is only associated with Marburg in Tindale's books. His place of printing was Wittemberg, where he printed so many of Luther's publications, and we have no evidence that he ever possessed a press at Marburg. Recent investigations by M. E. Kronenberg¹ have

¹ Kronenberg (M. E.) "De Geheimzinnige Drukkers Adam Anonymus te Bazel." 's Gravenhage, 1919.

resulted in the unmasking of the printer, who lurked behind the fictitious imprint, and who is now definitely identified with Johan Hoochstraten of Antwerp. A number of other books, including Tindale's "Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and "The Obedience of a Christian Man," were issued with this same fictitious imprint, beginning in 1528, and ending with "The Practice of Prelates" in the same year as the Pentateuch, 1530. The printing of the Pentateuch seems to have been somewhat troubled. Only two of the five books, Genesis and Numbers, are in the so-called "Marburg" type, the other three being in Roman, but they all have the same woodcut frame to their title-pages. There can be little doubt that the use of this fictitious imprint was to conceal the real place of printing from Tindale's enemies.

In 1530, Tindale's pen was again busy framing his final and most unsparing indictment of the Roman hierarchy: "The Practice of Prelates," to which allusion has just been made. In "The Obedience of a Christian Man" Tindale laid down rules of absolute submission to the temporal sovereign, and gave pleasure to the King; but this volume excited the fury of Henry, since, in it, Tindale had the temerity to denounce the King's divorce proceedings. In 1531 he also completed his translation of the Book of Jonah, which was probably printed at Antwerp.

Feeling that his security was now very precarious Tindale quitted the Low Countries, and for many months he wandered up and down Germany like a fugitive, hoping in that way to baffle the ingenuity of his pursuers.

Ultimately, he determined to settle down in Antwerp, there quietly to watch the progress of events in his native land. Here he returned with all his energy to his great work of translation. In 1534, he reissued the Pentateuch. But the year is specially memorable for the publication of Tindale's revised translation of the New Testament, which was "imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr." This revision had been made possible by the money furnished by Cuthert Tunstall, Bishop of London, and the first burner of the New Testament, for the copies of the first edition procured for him by Packington.

This was the revised text, which formed the basis of all the subsequent revisions down to and including the Revision of 1881, the

TINDALE'S
REVISED
NEW TEST-
AMENT.

XXXV. Chapter.

The Pope
spaketh that
whiche he is
not comma-
unded.

apō his face. But whē he went before the Lorde to speak with him, he toke the couerige of vntill he came out. And he came out and spake vnto the childern of Israel that which he was commaunded. And the childern of Israel sawe the face of Moses, that the skynne of his face shone with beames: but Moses put a couerynge vppon his face, vntill he went in, to comen with him.

The. xxxv. Chapter.

ANd Moses gathered all the companye of the childern of Israel together, and sayde vnto them: these are the thinges which the Lorde hath commaunded to doo: Sixe dayes ye shall worke, but the seuenth daye shall be vnto you the holy Sabbath of the Lordes rest: so that whosoever doth any worke there in, shall dye. Moreover ye shall kyndle no fyre thorow out all youre habitacyons apō the Sabbath daye.

And Moses spake vnto all the multitude of the childern of Israel sainge: this is the thinge which the Lorde cōmaūded saynge: Geue frō amōge you an heueoffringe, vnto the Lorde. All thatt are willynge in their hartes, shall bryngcheueoffringes vnto the Lorde: golde, syluer, brasse: lacynde, scarlet, purpull, bysse and gootes hare: rams skynnes red and taxus skynnes and

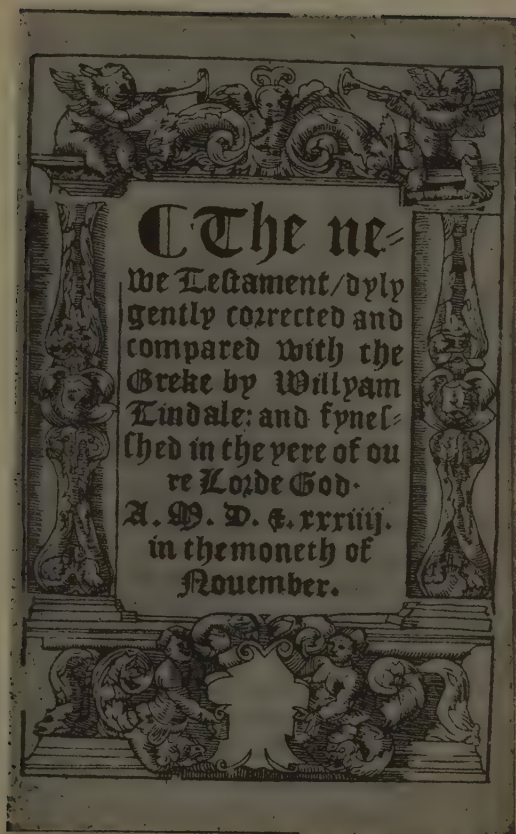


FIG. 1. TITLE-PAGE OF TINDALE'S REVISED "NEW TESTAMENT," 1534

title of which runs thus : "The Newe Testament dylegently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale : and fynessed in the yere of our Lorde God A.M.D. & xxxiiii. in the moneth of Nouember." In addition to the New Testament, this volume contained a translation of "the Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, which are read in the Church after the use of Salisbury upon certain days of the year." These "Epistles" include 78 verses from the Pentateuch ; 51 from 1 Kings, Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon ; 147 from the Prophetical Books, chiefly from Isaiah ; and 43 from the Apocrypha, chiefly from Ecclesiasticus. It also contained a prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, extending to thirty-four pages, which was written in 1526, after the issue of the first edition, and was printed and published anonymously under the title : "A compendious introduccion, prologe or preface vn to the pistle off Paul to the Romainys," of which the only surviving copy is preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

Bishop Westcott tells us of one copy of this 1534 revision which is of touching interest. Among the men who had suffered for aiding in the circulation of the earlier editions of the Testament was a merchant adventurer of Antwerp, named Harman (p. 570), who seems to have applied to Queen Anne Boleyn for redress. The Queen listened to the plea which was urged in his favour, and by her intervention he was restored to the freedom and privileges of which he had been deprived. Tindale could not fail to hear of her good offices, and he acknowledged them by a royal gift. He was engaged at the time in superintending the printing of his revised new Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illuminated. No preface, or dedication, or name mars the simple integrity of the copy. Only on the gilded edges in faded red letters runs the simple title : "Anne Regina Angliæ." The copy is now preserved in the British Museum, having been bequeathed to it in 1799.

In the same year (1534) George Joye, a scholar and fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, who had fled beyond seas to Strassburg in 1527, to escape persecution, secretly undertook, perhaps at the instigation of the printers, a revision of Tindale's version, correcting it by the help of the Vulgate. Many of these alterations gave great offence to Tindale, since they betray great weakness of judgment, and frequently depart from the meaning of the original Greek. This so-called revision of Joye was published three months before that of Tindale, which

appeared in the month of November. When this dishonest and dishonourable project of Joye was brought to the knowledge of Tindale, he was moved to write the second address, which appears in his edition: "Willyam Tindale, yet once more to the christien reader," in which he defends his own translation against the pretended corrections of Joye. There is little doubt that the first title with his name inserted in full, and the statement that it had been diligently compared with the Greek, was owing to the same cause.

The work of revision and translation occupied Tindale's attention to the last. In 1535, another revision appeared: "Yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale," which is considered to be the last revised by the translator himself, and forms the basis of the Thomas Matthew's Bible, of 1537. Three other editions were issued in 1536, but they were probably published independently of Tindale.

With the publication of the 1534 Testament, Tindale's hopes began to rise after long years of toil and danger. The sky was brightening. For eight years it had been a crime to purchase, sell, or read a copy of the New Testament in the native tongue. Now the persecution had died down, and men might even dare to possess the English Bible and to read it. In some respects England was now a safer place than the Low Countries, where the Inquisition was armed with unrestricted authority to seize all suspected persons, and try, torture, confiscate, and execute without any right of appeal, because Lutheranism had continued to make such rapid strides.

Hitherto Tindale had led a charmed life, but a subtle plot was hatched, which could scarcely fail of success. Whilst resident in Antwerp he was the guest of an influential citizen named Thomas Poyntz, a warm and true friend, who was able to shield his visitor from harm, by reason of the privilege which exempted citizens and their guests from being arrested in their houses, except for great crimes. Inside the house Tindale was safe, but strange to say, a man could be seized on the streets and whipped off to another place, where the Church's laws regarding heresy could be enforced against him.

In May, 1535, plans were laid to decoy Tindale away from his refuge, by a plausible scoundrel named Phillips, who played his part so well that Tindale was completely thrown off his guard. He pretended to be a convert to the Protestant cause, and by various means won the

TINDALE
AT
ANTWERP.

confidence of the unsuspecting exile. The plans being ripe, Tindale was invited out to dinner, and as he left the shelter of his friend's roof, he was seized by two officers stationed at either side of the narrow entrance to the house, and was hurried away to Vilvorde, a castle some eighteen miles from Antwerp, which was the principal state prison of the Low Countries, where he was to spend the last sixteen months of his life.

The trial seems to have occupied some five or six months, which is accounted for by the customary slow process of written attack and defence. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his friends in England and in the Low Countries to procure for him protection, he was condemned to death. The verdict had been foreseen. Tindale was in the hands of his life-long enemies, and for him there was only one pathway to escape. Sentence of death was passed on him on the 12th of August, 1536. A respite of two months was granted to the condemned man, during which time he struggled bravely to finish his great work. In a letter recently discovered, written in touching language, during his imprisonment, to the Governor of the fortress of Vilvorde, Tindale begs for warmer clothing, and that he may be allowed the use of his Hebrew books, Bible, grammar, and dictionary. There is good reason for believing that he left behind in manuscript a translation of the Books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive, and that this part of his work was included in the "Thomas Matthew's" Bible, of 1537, the name of "Matthew" probably hiding the identity of Tindale's friend, John Rogers.

On Friday, the 6th of October, 1536, Tindale was led forth from his cell, where he had spent so many months, to the place of execution. Being led to the stake, which, as if in derision, was fashioned like a cross, Tindale requested a few minutes for private prayer. The request was granted, and in his last act we have fresh proof of the nobility and unselfishness of his character. Death had no terrors for him, he thought not of his own sufferings, he was but going home. His warfare accomplished, his labours completed, he but awaited his rest like a brave soldier of Christ.

Raising his eyes to heaven he prayed with all the fervour he knew: "Lord open the King of England's eyes"—a prayer which was nearer to its answer than the heroic martyr deemed. The faggots were then piled around him, and at a given signal he was first strangled,

in accordance with the law, which condemned only Anabaptists to be burned alive, and his body was then burned.

His unrelenting enemies had succeeded in cutting short his life, but his work was beyond their power. Like the seed of the parable, it has grown up into the mightiest of trees. There is scarcely a corner of the globe into which English energy has not penetrated, and wherever the English language is heard there the words in which Tindale gave the Bible to his countrymen are repeated with heart-felt reverence, as the holiest and yet the most familiar of words. These words are the first that the opening intellect and faith of the child receives from the lips of its mother, they are the last that tremble upon the lips of the dying man, as he commends his soul to God.

No voice of scandal has ever been raised against William Tindale. There are no black spots in his life, which it has been necessary for his biographers to whitewash. Truth alone can stand the test of time, and the more the life of Tindale is examined the more is he found to be deserving of the love and veneration of his countrymen.

RICHARD BAXTER AND THE COUNTESS OF BALCARRES (1621 ?-1706 ?).

BY FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D.

WHEN Baxter came to London from Kidderminster on '13 April, 1660' (R.B., ii. 215) he may well have felt like Abraham that he knew not whither he was going. For he had much to learn about the state of parties, nor did he clearly know his own mind. But, at least, he did not find himself a complete stranger. Friends had 'called him up.' One of the best of them, Mr. Thomas Foley, welcomed him to his home in 'Austin-Fryers' (R.B., i. 106) and others, as occasion arose, were eager to sustain him under the tremendous strain of fluctuating hopes and fears, combined with chronic weakness and pain, which broke down everything for him during the next two years except his own indomitable spirit. His friends indeed were few and his adversaries many: but the friends he had were 'as an hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' Never, perhaps, did he owe more to friendship, or need it more, than at that time. And the friendships that meant most to him were those of two women, Margaret Charlton, who became his wife in September, 1662; and Anne, Countess of Balcarres, who had first heard of him through her cousin, the Earl of Lauderdale, and had not only heard of him but also had read his books, and made a hero of him in her heart, and, when she came to London with the King (May, 1660) rejoiced to find him there instead of at Kidderminster. No doubt, her personal acquaintance with him was made through Lauderdale. She followed it up in the spirit of a devotee. Wherever he preached, in any of the London Churches, she was usually present. He preached oftenest at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and there, at any rate, she might be found. She defended him against ignorant or spiteful critics. She consulted him in her difficulties; and opened her house to him as an honoured guest.

Here is the summary account of what Baxter calls "her Quality" which he wrote down in 1664 :

'She is Daughter to the late Earl of *Seaforth*¹ in *Scotland* towards the Highlands, and was married to the Earl of *Balcarres*,² a commander but an enemy to *Cromwell's* perfidiousness, and true to the Person and Authority of the King.³ With the Earl of *Glencairne* he kept up the last war for the King against *Cromwell*; and his Lady, through dearness of affection, marched with him, and lay out of doors with him on the Mountains. At last *Cromwell* drove them out of *Scotland*; and they went together beyond Sea to the King, where they long followed the Court, and he was taken for the Head of the Presbyterians,⁴ with the King, and by evil instruments fell out with the Lord Chancellor, who prevailing against him upon some advantage, he was for a time forbidden the Court—the Grief whereof, added to the Distempers he had contracted by his warfare on the

¹ Known as Colin the Red Earl of Seaforth, chief of the Mackenzies. He died in 1633.

² Alexander Lindsay (1618-1659), 2nd Lord and 1st Earl of Balcarres. He and Anne Mackenzie were cousins—her mother (Margaret Seyton) and his (Sophia Seyton or Seaton) being daughters of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline. Isabel, the Earl of Lauderdale's mother, was another daughter of the same. The two cousins were married in April, 1640, at Leslie, the seat of her uncle Lord Rothes who was against the marriage. Their first child was not born till February, 1651 (Charles Lindsay). A second son (Colin Lindsay) followed and three daughters—Anne, Sophia, and Harriet.

³ He took the 'engagement' in December, 1648, and gave himself to Charles II. after his father's death with passionate devotion. He was one of thirteen Earls and Barons who offered themselves for the King's service in the Highlands (June, 1653). But he had no confidence in Glencairn and promoted a petition to the King (Nov. 1653) for his dismissal. A month later he left the army owing to a false charge against his brother-in-law Sir Robert Moray. When Moray was put under arrest, he went over to France (April, 1654) 'burning with anger.' 'His wife determined to accompany him. In the depth of winter, through 400 miles of country occupied by the enemy she travelled in disguise with her husband, the children having been left behind' (in St. Andrews) and arrived safely in Paris by the end of May.—D.N.B.

⁴ His pertinacious advocacy of the Presbyterian proposals was sedulously counteracted by Clarendon whose absolute exclusion from the King's counsels was, on the other hand, made a *sine qua non* by Balcarres (July, 1655). The Queen-Mother Henrietta (partly from dislike of Hyde) favoured Balcarres and got Charles to induce his sister (Princess of Orange) to take Lady Balcarres into her household. But Clarendon finally prevailed.

cold and hungry mountains, cast him into a consumption of which he died.¹ He was a Lord of excellent Judgment and Honesty ; none being praised equally with him for Learning and understanding in all Scotland.² When the Earl of *Lauderdaile* (his near kinsman and great Friend) was Prisoner in Portsmouth and *Windsor-Castle*, he fell into acquaintance with my Books, and so valued them that he read them all, and took notes of them, and earnestly commended them to the Earl of *Balcarres* (with the King). The Earl of *Balcarres* met, at the first sight, with some Passages where he thought I spake too favourably of the Papists, and differed from many other Protestants, and so cast them by, and sent the reason of his distaste to the Earl of *Lauderdaile* : who prest him but to read one of the Books over, which he did ; and so read them all (as I have seen many of them marked with his hand), and was drawn to over-value them more than the Earl of *Lauderdaile*. Hereupon his Lady reading them also, and being a woman of very strong Love and Friendship, with extraordinary Entireness swallowed up in her Husband's Love, for the Books sake and her Husband's sake, she became a most affectionate Friend to me, before she ever saw me. While she was in *France* being zealous for the King's Restoration (for whose cause her Husband had pawned and ruined his Estate) by the Earl of *Lauderdaile's* direction, she with Sir *Robert Moray*, got divers Letters from the Pastors and others there,³ to bear witness of the King's sincerity in the Protestant Religion (among which there is one to me⁴ from M. Gaches). Her great wisdom, modesty, Piety, and sincerity, made her accounted the Saint at the Court. When she came over with the King, her extraordinary Respects obliged me to be so often with her, as gave me acquaintance with her eminency in all the foresaid Virtues.

¹ At the Hague, 30 August, 1659.

² Of the Countess' personal appearance we read—'She was a woman, if the picture apparently painted in Holland during the Protectorate and preserved in Braham Castle may be trusted, of extreme beauty, the face being full of vivacity, sweetness and intelligence.'—D.N.B.

³ Immediately after her husband's death she went to her children in Scotland but returned as soon as possible to do the work in France which Baxter here mentions—a work in which she and the Pastors (though probably *not* Lauderdale or Moray) became unwilling Sponsors for a hideous pretence.

⁴ Preserved in B. MSS. (Treatises), vol. iii., ff. 118-120, together with other particulars of this affair.

She is of solid understanding in Religion, for her Sex ; and of Prudence much more than ordinary, and of great Integrity and Constancy in her Religion and a great Hater of Hypocrisie, and faithful to Christ in an unfaithful world ; and she is somewhat overmuch affectionate to her Friends, which hath cost her a great deal of Sorrow, in the loss of her Husband and since, of other special Friends, and may cost her more when the rest forsake her, as many in Prosperity use to do those that will not forsake their Fidelity to Christ.

' Her eldest Son, the young Earl of Balcarres, a very hopeful Youth, died of a strange Disease, two Stones being found in his Heart, of which one was very great. Being my constant auditor and over-respectful Friend, I had occasion for the Just Praises and Acknowledgments which I have given her ; which the occasioning of these Books hath caused me to mention ' (R.B., i., 121). The reference in these last words is to two books—published, the one in 1662 and the other in 1663. The title of the former is as follows—'The mischiefs of self-ignorance and the Benefits of self-acquaintance opened in Divers Sermons at *Dunstan's West* ; and Published in answer to these Accusations of some and the Desires of others ' 1662. 'The accusations were from men who have been so long in contention that they dream they are still contending and fancie every word they hear from a so-called Adversary must signify some hostile terrible thing : as the scalded head doth fear cold water.' Baxter rightly judged that the best answer to such cavillers lay in the sermons themselves printed just as they were delivered. But, in publishing, he thought most of those who wished to read at leisure what it had done them good to hear, and especially of the Countess, who had heard them all and urged their publication from a belief that they might be 'as effectual upon common hearts' as they had been upon her own. He yielded to her judgment ; and took the opportunity of prefixing a Dedictory epistle of a very remarkable character. It is this 'Epistle' to which I wish to draw attention. There is not a word of the fulsome compliment which so disgusts the reader in many a similar epistle of that time—nothing stronger than the sentence that he is not alone in considering her the 'honour' of her 'sex and nation.' But it is an appreciation of the Countess, from the highest standpoint, so unreserved in its praise that one has to choose between regarding her as an almost ideal Christian, or Baxter as a sincere but purblind admirer. For

myself, I choose the former. Baxter was not easily captivated by sentiment. His understanding had first to be convinced ; and in this case it was. Nor is it credible that, in writing on the ' mischiefs of self-ignorance ' and giving minute directions to the Countess herself how to enlarge self-knowledge, he should have taken insufficient pains to clear up his own perception of the truth. And this, of course, heightens one's sense of wonder at his portrait.

' I perceive '—he says—' you value the subjects which you have found, in the practice of your soul, to be the most useful. As they that know God would fain have all others know him, so those that know themselves, do love the Glass, and would have others to make use of it. I wonder not if your experience of the benefits of self-acquaintance provoke you to desire to have more partakers in so profitable and so sweet a knowledge. Had you not known yourself you had never known your Saviour, your God, your way and your end, as you have done ; you had never been so well acquainted with the symptoms and cure of the diseases of the Soul, the nature and exercise of grace, the way of mortification, and the comfortable supports, refreshments, and foretastes of heavenly believers ; you had never so clearly seen the vanity of all the pomp and fulness of the world, not so easily and resolutely despised its flatteries and baits, nor so quietly borne variety of afflictions, nor imitated Moses (Heb. xi. 25, 26) nor received the holy character (Psal. 15). . . . O Madam how happy are you (if one on earth may be called happy) that have looked home so often and so seriously, that now you can dwell at home in peace, and need not as the ungodly, be a terror to yourself, nor run away from yourself : when impious vagrants have so abused their consciences that they dare not converse with them, nor meet them alone in the dark ! What a mercy is it that in the great Reconciler you are reconciled to your conscience, and that it doth not find you out as an enemy, but is a messenger of peace and good tidings to you ! That you need not the smiles of great ones to refresh you, nor pompous entertainments, complements, plays or sports to recreate you and drive away your sorrows ; but that you can find more blessed and delectable company and employment at home ; That you can daily retire into your self, and there peruse a richer treasure than bodily eyes on earth can see, and there be taken up with a far more contenting satisfactory employment and a more fruitful and pleasant converse and recreation, than any creature in

Court or Countrey can afford ; that your Joy is laid up where the hand of violence cannot touch it ; and that they that can deprive you of estate and liberty and life, yet cannot take your comforts from you ; that when fleshly unthrifths love not home because all is spent and they can expect no better entertainment there than want, confusion, chiding, and distress, you can withdraw from a confused troublesome world into a well-furnished and adorned soul, replenished with the precious fruits of the Spirit, and beautified with the image of your Lord ! O Madam, what sweet and noble employment have you there, in comparison of that which worldlings are troubled with abroad ! There you may read the sentence of your Justification, as foregoing and foreshewing the publike final sentence of your Judge ; there you can converse with God himself, not in his vindictive Justice but as he is Love : for *love that dwelleth* so plentifully in *you* doth prove that *God dwelleth in you and you in him*, 1 John 4, 7, 18, 16. There you may converse with *Christ your head*, that *dwelleth in you by faith*, Ephes. 3, 17, and with the *Holy Ghost* who *dwelleth in you*, and hath communion with you by the beauty of his illuminating, sanctifying, confirming, and comforting grace. There, as in *his Temple* you are *speaking of his Glory* (1 Cor. 3, 16, 17 and 6, 19, with Psal. 29, 9) and rejoicing in his holy praise, and remembring what he hath done for your soul. There you can peruse the Records of his Mercy, and think, with gratitude and delight, how he did first illuminate you, and draw and engage your heart unto himself, what advantage he got upon you and what iniquity he prevented by the mercies of your education, and how he secretly took acquaintance with you in your youth. How he delivered you from worldly fleshly snares ; how he caused you to savour the things of the Spirit ; how he planted you in a sound well-ordered Church, where he quickened and conducted you by a lively faithful Ministry, and watered his gifts by their constant powerful preaching of his word, where Discipline was for a defence, and where your heart was warmed with the communion of the Saints, and where you learned to worship God in spirit and in truth, and where you were taught so effectually by God to discern between the precious and the vile and to love those that are born of God, whom the world knoweth not, that no subtilties or calumnies of the Serpent can unteach it you or ever be able to separate you from that love. You may read in these Sacred Records of your Heart how the Angel of the Covenant hath

hitherto conducted you through this wilderness towards the land of promise, how he hath been a cloud to you in the day and a pillar of fire by night ; how the Lord did number you with the people that are his flock, his portion, and the lot of his inheritance ; and led you about in a desert land, instructed you, and kept you as the apple of his eye (Deut. 32, 9, 10). His manna hath compassed your tent, his Doctrine hath dropped as the rain, and his words distilled as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass. As his beloved you have dwelt in safety by him ; and the Lord hath covered you all the day long (id. 33, 12) ; when storms have risen he hath been your refuge ; and when dangers compassed you on every side, he hath hid you as in his pavilion, and his Angels have pitcht their tents about you and borne you up ; you have been fortified in troubles, and enabled comfortably to undergoe them, in war and in peace, in your native country and in foreign lands, among your friends and among your enemies ; in Court and Country, in prosperity and adversity you have found that *there is none like the God of Israel, Who rideth upon the heaven in your help, and his excellency on the skie : the Eternal God hath been your refuge and underneath are the everlasting arms* (Deut. 34, 26, 27). You may remember the mercies of your younger years, of your married state and of your widowhood, your comforts in your truly Noble lord, though troubled and interrupted by his death yet increased by the consideration of his felicity with Christ ; your comfort in your hopeful issue, though abated by the injury of Romish theft, which stole one of the Roses of your Garden, that they might boast of the sweetness when they called it their own : (I may well say *stole it*, when all the cheat was performed by unknown persons in the dark, and no importunity by you or me could procure me one dispute or conference in her hearing with any of the seducers, before her person was stolen away). Though comforts conveyed by creatures must have their pricks, yet your experience hath partly taught you (and more will do) that by all the mixtures of sour and bitter ingredients your Father doth temper you the most wholesome composition ; he *chasteneth you for your profit that you may be partaker of his holiness* (Heb. 12, 10), and the least degree of *Holiness* cannot be purchased at too dear a rate. His rod and staffe have comforted you ; and, whatever are the beginnings, the *end will be the quiet fruit of Righteousness* when you have been *exercised therein*. And though man be mutable, and

friends, and flesh, and heart have failed you, yet God is still the strength of your heart, and your portion for ever (Psal. 73, 26). O the variety of learning that is contained in the secret writings of a sanctified heart ! The variety of subjects for the most fruitful and delightful thoughts, which you may find recorded in the inwards of your soul ! How pleasant is it there to find the characters of the special Love of God, the lineaments of his Image, the transcript of his Law, the harmony of his gifts and graces, the witness, the seal and the earnest of his Spirit, and the foretaste and beginnings of Eternal Life ! As thankfulness abhors oblivion, and is a Recording grace, and keepeth Histories and Catalogues of Mercies, so is it a Reward unto itself, and by these Records it furnisheth the soul with matter for the sweetest employments and delights. Is it not pleasant to you there to Read, how God hath confuted the objections of distrust ? How oft he hath condescended to your weakness, and pardoned you when you could not easily forgive yourself ? How oft he hath entertained you in secret with his Love ? and visited you with his consolations ? How near him sometimes you have got in fervent prayer and serious meditation ? And when for a season he hath hid his face, how soon and seasonably he returned ? How oft he hath found you weeping, and hath wiped away your tears ? and calmed and quieted your troubled soul ? How he hath resolved your doubts, and expelled your fears, and heard your prayers ? How comfortably he hath called you *His Child*, and given you leave, and commanded you, to call him *Father*, when Christ hath brought you with boldness into his presence ? How sweet should it be to your remembrance, to think how the Love of Christ hath sometimes exalted you above these sublunary things ! How the Spirit hath taken you up to Heaven, and showed to your faith the Glory of the New Hierusalem, the blessed company of those Holy spirits that attend the Throne of the Majesty of God, and the shining face of your glorified Head ! By what seasonable and happy Messengers he hath sent you the Cluster of Grapes as thy first fruits of the land of promise ! and commanded you oft to Take and Eate the Bread of Life ? How oft he hath reached to your thirsty soul the fruits of the Vine, and turned it sacramentally into his blood, and bid you *drink it in remembrance of him, till he come*, and feast you with his fullest Love, and satisfie you with the pleasure and presence of his Glory.

‘ But the volumes of mercy written in your heart, are too great to be by me transcribed. I can easily appeal to you that are acquainted with it, whether such Heart-employment be not more pleasant and more profitable than any of the entertainments that fleshy wit, or gaudy gallantry, or merriments, luxurie, or preferments can afford ? Is it not better converse with Christ at home than with such as are described, Psal. 12, abroad ? To dwell with all that blessed retinue, Gal. 5, 22, 23, than with Pride, Vainglory, Envy, Dissimulation, Hypocrisie, Falsehood, time-wasting, soul destroying pleasures, to say nothing of the filthiness which Christian years¹ (*sic*), abhor the mention of, and which God himself in time will judge (Eph. 5, 3, 5, 6, 7 ; Heb. 13, 4 and the rest recited, Gal. 5, 19, 20, 21). If *ungodly* persons do find it more *unpleasant* to converse at home, no wonder, when there is nothing but darkness and defilement ; and when they have put God from them and entertained Satan so that their hearts are like to haunted houses, where terrible cries and apparitions do make it a place of fear to the inhabitants. But if their souls had had such blessed inhabitants as yours ; could they meet there with a reconciled God, a Father, a Saviour and a sanctifier ; had they souls which kept a correspondence with Heaven, it would not seem so sad and terrible a life, to dwell at home, and withdraw from that noise of vanity abroad, which are but the drums and trumpets of the devil, to encourage his deluded followers, and drown the cries of miserable souls. Your dearest friends and chiefest treasure are not abroad in Court or Country ; but *above* you and *within* you. Where then should your delightful converse be but where your friends and treasure die ? (Matth. 6, 21 ; Phil. 3, 20 ; Col. 3, 1 ; 2, 3, 4). When there is almost nothing to be found in the converse of the world but discord and distraction and confusion and clamours and malice and treachery, is it not better to retire into such a heart, where, notwithstanding infirmities and some doubts and fears, there is order and concord and harmony, and such Peace as the world can neither give nor take away ? O blessed be the hand of Love that blotted out the *names* of *Honour* and *Riches* and *Pleasures* and carnal interest, and inscribed his own in *Characters* never to be obliterate ! That turned out Usurpers and so prepared and furnished your heart as to make and

¹ Ears.

judge it such as no one is worthy of it but himself ! O what a Court have you chosen for your abode ! How high and Glorious ! How pure and holy ! Unchangeable and safe ! How ambitiously do you avoid ambition ! How great are you in the lowliness of your mind ! How high in your Humility ! Will no lower a place than Heaven content you to converse in ? (For Heart-converse and Heaven-converse are as much one, as beholding both the Glass and the Face.) Will no lower correspondents satisfie you than the Host of Heaven ? Cannot the company of imperfect mortals serve your turn ? Nay, can you be satisfied with none below the Lord himself ? Well, *Madam*, if you will needs have it so, it shall be so. What you judge *Best for you* shall be yours ; what you had rather be, you are ; and where you had rather dwell, you shall. And seeing you have understood that *one thing is necessary*, and have *chosen the good part*, it shall not be taken from you, Luke, 10, 41, 42. Having first sought the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, you shall have such Additionalls as will do you good, Matt. 6, 33, Rom. 8, 28, Psal. 84, 11. You have learned to know, while God is yours, how little of the Creature you need, and how little addition it maketh to your happiness. You are wise enough, if you live to God ; and honourable enough, if you are a member of Christ ; and rich enough if you are an heir of heaven ; and beautiful enough, if you have the image of God : and yet having made your choice of these, how liberally hath God cast in, as overplus, the inferior kind which you *find* in *losing* them ? . . . As if God would convince even flesh itself that none are like the servants of the Lord ; and when the envious one hath said that *you serve not God for nought*, though he hath been permitted to put forth his hand and touch you in your dearest friends and relations, your peace, your habitation, and estate, yet hath he so restrained him, and supported you as may easily convince you that the *worst of Christ* is better than the *Best of the World*, or *Sin*.'

The remainder of the epistle gives more directions towards full self-knowledge which were intended less for the countess than for her "hopefull sons and daughters." Its final words imply that the countess is already in Scotland :—

'If one kingdom do not hold us and I shall see your face no more on earth, yet till we meet in the glorious everlasting Kingdom we shall have frequent converse by such means as these notwithstanding—

ing our distance ; and, as I am assured of a room in your frequent prayers, so I hope I shall remain, Madam,

‘ Your faithful servant and
‘ Remembrancer at the Throne of Grace
‘ Richard Baxter.’

Between the date of this epistle (25 August, 1661)¹ and the following November, Lady Balcarres underwent some great trouble—which seems to have included,—or perhaps entailed, a serious illness.

Baxter, therefore, added a Postscript (dated 1 November, 1661) ‘to remember you of what you know, that God thus traineth up his children for their Rest. . . . Madam, if nothing in all the world be more certain than that there is a God who is true and just . . . then are our arguments for the comfort of God’s afflicted ones, no fancies, but fetcht as from the highest excellencies, so from the surest realities that ever were presented to the understanding of a man. . . . *Madam*, experience as well as faith assureth me that it is good for us that we are afflicted. And though for the sake of others, I shall earnestly beseech the Lord, that he will not unseasonably remove such as you from this unworthy generation, yet I doubt not but your removal and sufferings in the way, will advantage you for your everlasting Rest. And for myself, I desire that my lot may still fall with those that follow Christ through tribulation, bearing the cross, and crucified to the world, and waiting for his appearance . . . and that I may be fit for the Title of the Beloved Apostle, *Rev.* 1, 9 (though as a servant to you and the Church of God).

‘ *Your Brother and Companion in tribulation*
‘ *And in the Kingdom of Patience of Jesus Christ*
‘ Rich. Baxter.’

Two years later (24 December, 1663) he dedicated a second book to the Countess, and for the same reason as the first—that she had a personal interest in it so far as the sermon went, which Baxter calls ‘the embryo of the Book.’ This was preached on a text (John 16, 32) suggested to him by her Ladyship just when, on the eve of her departure to Scotland she felt ‘deeply sensible of the loss of the company of those friends which she left behind her.’ He preached

¹ Baxter was then in Kidderminster on his last visit.

² May, 1662.

it 'a little before the ending² of his publick ministry' and meant to comply with her wish to have it published at once, but was hindered. Then he added a sermon which he had 'first preached to 'his' ancient flock' at Kidderminster; and a third which should have been expanded by a fourth, but the Bishop's chaplain cut it out, because in it the world was described as 'a dark, a wicked, a malicious, an implacable, a treacherously deceitful World, etc.' The censor thought it too personal!

The sermon which occasioned the Dedication is part three of the whole and the shortest of the three (80 pages). Its title is:

'The Christian's converse with God or, the Insufficiency and Uncertainty of Humane Friendship and the Improvement of Solitude in converse with God. With some of the Author's breathings after him.'

The Epistle¹ (of 7 pages) is inspired by a deep sympathy with the Countess for the bereavement she had suffered the year before (15 October); and its consolations must have been all the more precious on account of the chastened beauty of the language. If space allowed I would quote the whole. But here are one or two of the opening sentences:—

'Madam,

'In hope of the fuller pardon of my delay, I now present you with two other Treatises besides the Sermon (enlarged) which at your desire I preached at your departure hence. I knew of many and great afflictions which you had undergone in the removal of your dearest friends, which made this subject seem so suitable and seasonable to you at that time; but I knew not that God was about to make an addition to your tryals in the same kind, by taking to himself the principal branch of your Noble Family² (by a rare disease—the embleme³ of the mortal malady now raining). I hope this loss also shall promote your gain, by keeping you nearer to your Heavenly Lord, who is so jealous of your affections and resolved to have them entirely to himself; and then you will still find that you are *not alone*, nor deprived of

¹ To the Right Honourable and Exemplary Lady Ann, Countess of Balcarres.

² 'Charles, Earl of Balcarres, who dyed of a stone in his heart, of a very strange magnitude.'

³ A stony heart! Such a play on words was rarer with him (happily) than the disease.

your dearest or, most necessary friend while the Father, the Son, the sanctifying and comforting Spirit is with you. And it should not be hard to reconcile us to the disposals of so sure a friend. Nothing but Good can come from God, however the blind may miscall it, who know no Good or Evil, but what is measured by the private standard of their selfish interest, and that as judged of by sense. Eternal Love engaged by Covenant to make us happy, will do nothing but what we shall find at last will terminate in that blessed end. . . . Madam, the greatest service I can do you for all your favours is, to pray that God will more acquaint you with Himself, and lead you by this blessed way to that more blessed end ; that when you shall see all worldly glory in the dust, you may bless him for ever, who taught you to make a wiser choice : which are the prayers of

‘ Madam

‘ Your very much obliged Servant

‘ Richard Baxter.’

‘ 24 December, 1663.’

There is no evidence to show that they ever met after 1662, or that any letters passed between them. For the ‘next few years’ she is said to have spent her time ‘in endeavouring by careful economy, to pay off the debts upon’ the late Earl’s ‘estates.’ Then in 1670 she became the second wife of Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyll, with whom ‘she lived a life of quiet affection until the Catastrophe of 1681.’ This catastrophe was the Earl’s unjust trial for treason, conviction, and sentence to death—a sentence which he escaped by the contrivance of Lady Sophia, the Countess’s second daughter.¹ In May, 1685, the Earl returned from Friesland at the head of an expedition against the Government ; was captured on 18 June, and beheaded at Edinburgh on the 30th.² The Countess survived these sorrows for more than twenty years. The date of her last signature is 1 October, 1706, and she died before the end of that year.

She is said to have been in London at Court for the three months immediately following June 1685 ; and if Baxter had been free he might possibly have met her ; but he was then a prisoner in the Counter. The only later trace of their connection recalls an incident which Baxter describes at some length (R.B. ii. 219-229). It took

¹ Who, later, married Colin her husband’s second son.

² Macaulay’s ‘History of England,’ Vol. II., 534-558. Firth’s Edition.

place before the date of the 'Epistles'—viz., in December and January 1662. Briefly it was this—hearing that the Countess was ill Baxter called upon her and found her 'grievously afflicted for her eldest daughter,¹ the Lady Ann Lindsey about 16 or 17 years of Age who was suddenly turned Papist by she knew not whom.'

Dr. Gunning² (1614-1684) had talked with her at the Countess's request, but had done more harm than good by first trying to persuade her 'against the Church of Scotland which she had been bred in as no true Church.' So the mother turned to Baxter, who forthwith applied himself to the business with more zeal than discretion. With his strong faith in the force of argument—which experience of this particular case should have done something to weaken—he urged the young lady to bring her unknown perverter and himself together in her presence. But all his proposals to that end failed, and just when he thought the latest of them was about to succeed he found that 'the Lady was gone, being secretly stolen from her mother in a coach.' The day before this happened (1 Dec.) he wrote her a letter which outlines what he may have meant to say in the expected conference; and two months later (29 January) he replied to one which she addressed to her mother from *Calice* (in Paris). He replied, of course at the mother's instance; and, doubtless, because she was too upset to write herself. Apparently, she did not hear from her daughter again. Reviewing the circumstances five years later (1665) Baxter wrote:—

'It was discovered that the Man that seduced her and refused Disputation was . . . Mr. Johnson (or Terret)³ . . . and yet when I asked her whether it were he, she plainly and positively said it was not; and when a Servant went after her Coach, and overtook her in *Lincolns-inn-Fields*, she positively promised to come again, and said, she went but to see a friend. Also she complained to the Queen-mother⁴ of her Mother, as if she used her hardly for Religion, which was false; in a Word, her Mother told me, that before she turned Papist, she scarce ever heard a Lye from her; and since then, She could believe nothing that she said. This was the Darling of that excellent, wise, religious Lady (the widow of an excellent Lord);

¹ Referred to above as 'One of the Roses of his Garden.'

² Afterwards Bishop of Ely.

³ Otherwise well known to Baxter.

⁴ Henrietta Maria.

which made the Affliction great, and taught her to moderate her Affection to all Creatures. This Perversion had been a long time secretly working before she knew of it ; all which time the young Lady would join in Prayer with her Mother, and jeer at Popery till she was detected, and then she said she might join with them no more.¹

Though this was written in 1665, it did not see the light till 1696—the date of publication of ‘Reliquiæ Baxterianæ.’ So it was after this that a copy of the ‘R.B.’ came into the possession of the aged Countess. This copy was picked up by the father of Dr. John Brown, author of ‘Horæ Subsecivæ,’ in a Glasgow bookshop about the year 1850 ; and ‘on the page where Baxter brings a charge of want of Veracity against’ her daughter (i.e. the page just quoted from) there was found the following note by the Countess written ‘in a hand tremulous with age and feeling’ :—

‘I can say w^t truth I never in all my lyff did hear hir ly, and what she said, if it was not trew, it was by others suggested to hir, as yt,’ e.g.—‘She wold embak² on Wednesday. She believed She wold, but they took her, alles ! from me who never did see her mor. The minister of Cuper, Mr. John Magill, did see her at Paris in the Convent. Said She was a knowing and vertuous person, and had retined the living principels of our relidgion, which made him say it was good to grund young persons weel in ther relidgion, as she was one it appired weel grunded.’³

If we attend here not to the venerable mother’s undying affection and grief, but to the matter of fact, it will be seen that Baxter does not charge the Lady Anne with anything more than her mother allows, viz., that with her new religion she acquired a new indifference to truthfulness. This was a common Protestant charge against Romanism. The one direct correction of Baxter is in the statement ‘I *never* in all my lyff did hear hir ly,’ whereas he wrote ‘She (the Countess) *scarce ever* heard a Lye from her.’ I wonder what other notes—mental, oral, or written—the Countess made. Did she feel that Baxter’s whole way of handling the matter, while logically clear and cogent from the standpoint of his premises, was likely to fail just because it was too severe, too elaborate, too argumentative and too little human ? That, at any rate, is how a modern reader feels.

¹ R.B. ii. 220.

² Come back ?

³ Letter to John Cairns, D.D.

SHORT ARTICLES.

1. INTEREST IN THE LOST BOOKS OF LIVY IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WRITINGS.

BY DR. W. J. RUTHERFURD.

IN the *Times Literary Supplement* for 30 October of last year, Professor G. C. Moore Smith made a learned—and, it should be said, a humorous—contribution to the discussions that had been taking place over the alleged discovery by the notorious Dr. di Martino Fosco of the missing books of Livy. He suggested that their *locale* had already been given three hundred years ago, and quoted the following lines “On the Æthiopian Mountaine, Amara” from Thomas Bancroft’s *Two Bookes of Epigrammes* (1639):

On this faire Mountaine, sphericall and high
Stands (as fame goes) a precious Library,
Where Livy’s whole worke, Enoch’s Oracles,
Salamon’s Physicks, and some mysteries else
That did survive the Flood, entreasur’d lye,
Insulting o’re Times wastefull tyranny.
O could I thither reach! Then should I stand
High in the Muses’ grace, and all command!

Professor Moore Smith remarks, with a gentle irony, that even if Bancroft made no reference to a new Gospel or to a Life of St. Januarius, “it is an interesting confirmation of the truth of Bancroft’s account that two ‘Ethiopic’ manuscripts of the Book of Enoch were brought by Bruce from Abyssinia in 1773, and the work is now one which no gentleman’s library should be without.”

Professor Smith did not inquire into the origin of Bancroft’s information. The source of this false allusion to an existence in Abyssinia of these lost books of Livy was *Purchas, his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages* (London, 1613), where there is an account, commencing on page 565, “Of the Hill Amara : and the rarities therein.”

This matter of the mountain and its literary treasures has been described at length, and with great ingenuity, in a lecture on "Prester John's Library" delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, in 1892, by Dr. Rendel Harris, and subsequently published by him in his *Hermas in Arcadia and other Essays* (Cambridge University Press, 1896; see pp. 26-42). It may be pardonable to recall a few of the steps in this inquiry, which seems to have been strangely overlooked although it is entirely to the point, and is as satisfactorily carried through as the most mathematical eye could wish to see—to use Professor Smith's expression, "no gentleman's library should be without it!"

Firstly to shew that the "fame" of this Library and of its contents had reached Bancroft by way of Purchas. It is said (Purchas, p. 565) that the mountain "is situate in a great Plaine, largely extending itself every way, without other hill in the same for the space of 30 leagues, the form thereof round and circular, the height such, that it is a dayes worke to ascend from the foot to the top." This explains the second line of Bancroft's poem. A further statement (on p. 561), said to be on the authority of Fr. Alvarez, is to the effect that "here in Amara is a steepe Hill, dilating itself in a round forme, fiftene dayes iourney in compasse."

For the books in the Library we are told that "the Queene of Saba (they say) procured Bookes hither from all partes, besides many which Solomon gave her"; and again, "there is very much of Salomon, a great number passing under his name"; and also, "T. Livius is there whole, which with us is imperfect." Again, "there are the writings of Enoch copied out of the stones wherein they were engraven, which intreate of Philosophie, of the Heavens and Elements."

There is still, however, a question to be answered before Purchas can be cited as the authority for locating *Livy's whole worke* in Abyssinia. Where did Purchas derive his information, and to what extent was it to be accepted as genuine? Unfortunately the conclusion to be reached from the facts displayed in this lecture on "Prester John's Library," in which the matter is gone into, is that we have again stumbled on a mare's nest. It would appear that Purchas had relied on the *Historia de la Etiopia* of Friar Luys de Urreta, published at Valencia in 1610, three years before the first edition of Purchas.

De Urreta's account "de los dos Monasterios que ay nel Monte Amarà, y la famosa libreria que tiene en uno de ellos el Preste Juan" (t. i., c. 9), where were to be found "todas las Decadas de Titoliuio, que por la Europa no se tenian," was challenged in 1615 by Godignus in his *De Abassinorum rebus*, and Ludolf in his seventeenth century *History of Ethiopia* announced that Godignus had successfully exposed Urreta's fiction.

Finally it was left to Dr. Rendel Harris to shew that what de Urreta had done was to blend with some little real information that he perhaps possessed about Abyssinian MSS., a series of copious extracts from the *Biblioteca* of Sixtus Senensis, even to the extent of reproducing printers' errors from the latter. It was from this that he got Livy, and a host of other details. His imaginative power in the art of discovering lost works was thus made to appear greatly in excess of those who live in a post-war world of depreciated values.

Whether Bancroft had access to the sources behind Purchas is a point on which we must be content to remain ignorant. No wonder he felt that if he could attain to such treasures of knowledge he would stand high in the Muses' grace, and all command. "He who knows where all this treasure now is, is a great Apollo, I'm sure I am not he," are the last lines of Sir Thomas Browne's *Musæum Clausum, or, Bibliotheca abscondita*; and with this sentiment the matter may fittingly be left.

2. A SAHIDIC VARIANT IN A RYLANDS MANUSCRIPT.

By THE REV. P. D. BUCKLE, M.A.

IN the BULLETIN, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 312-317, a Coptic homily was examined for the purpose of indicating its Biblical citations. In its 16 pages over 60 quotations from the Bible were discovered and noted. The article was intended to follow the method applied in Mr. Crum's catalogue to some other manuscript and to supply material for textual criticism. Comparisons were made with Sahidic and Bohairic texts and the original Greek. Two passages were found however in which no Sahidic text had been printed, viz., Mark xvi. 3 and 1 Peter i. 8, 9. The second of these quotations has now for the first time been printed this year in the Oxford edition, which has been completed by the recent issue of its seventh volume through the industry of the Rev.

George Horner. The Oxford text supports the Rylands reading, though it differs from the Bohairic and does not literally reproduce the original Greek like that version. In the well-known phrase "With joy unspeakable and full of glory" the Greek reads χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῳ, which is closely followed by the Vulgate, *lætitia inenarrabili et glorificata*. This is translated with precisely verbal exactness by the Bohairic. But the Sahidic preacher (probably Shenoute) cites, "With joy *hidden* and glorified," and this is now confirmed by the Oxford text. The homily does not therefore give a slip of memory but an accurate quotation. Why then did the Sahidic translator use a variant. It might be supposed that the word, which is very rare, puzzled him and that he could not translate it. But more probably he preferred to use a gloss or interpretation. This explanation seems to be supported by Hort's note in which it is hinted that the interposed EK suggests definitely a *bringing out* of the depth of the heart into external utterance. The use of such a gloss finds a remarkable parallel in the modern English hymn quoted by Dr. Rendel Harris in his lecture on *Perfection according to the Saviour* printed in the BULLETIN, Vol. 8, No. 1 :—

Joy past all speech, of glory full,
But stored where none may know ;
Like manna hid in dewy heaven,
Or pearls in ocean low.

It is interesting to find that a variant in a Rylands Manuscript, which at first sight seems peculiar and unlikely is actually verified by a printed text derived from a Vienna Lectionary and to observe that it illustrates an inner mystical experience expounded in a Rylands lecture on another early discovery.

